# The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire

BY

DANIËLLE SLOOTJES

BRILL MNEMOSYNE · SUPPLEMENTA

# THE GOVERNOR AND HIS SUBJECTS IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

# MNEMOSYNE

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HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2006

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15070-6
ISBN-10: 90-04-15070-6

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*Foar heit, mem en Antoinette*

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The core of this book was written at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where in the Spring of 2004 I finished my PhD on governors and their subjects in the Later Roman Empire. I would like to thank several people who have been instrumental in the completion of this project. As members of my committee, Kent Rigsby, James McCoy, and Richard Pfaff provided me with valuable suggestions. Jerzy Linderski gave me useful feedback, especially on my first chapter. Scott Bradbury kindly sent me his translations of the letters of Libanius, before their official publication. These letters proved to be indispensable for my research. At an early stage of my project Lee Brice, Tom Elliott, Christopher Fuhrmann, Richard Lim, Kathryn McDonnell and Ray Van Dam have read and thoughtfully commented on parts of the work. My sincere gratitude to the Aphrodisias Excavation of New York University, and in particular Julie Lenaghan and Burt Smith for their help in obtaining the photographs of the governors from Aphrodisias. The photographs of the governors' statues from Ephesus have come from the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Vienna, and I am grateful to Maria Aurenhammer and Georg Plattner for their kind assistance. I thank Lukas de Blois and Olivier Hekster for allowing me some time the past year to finish this book.

I am very grateful to Willem Jongman who not only played a vital role in getting this book published, but who also, many years ago, gave me the confidence to become an ancient historian. I owe a special word of thanks to Carolyn Connor. Without her I would not have dared to embark upon the period of the Late Roman world. Her enthusiasm, passion and support have made the writing of this book an exciting experience. I am deeply indebted to Richard Talbert who always trusted my abilities and gave me the confidence to undertake this project. His determination, positive feedback, encouragement, and our shared interest in Roman provincial government played decisive roles in this work. In the end, though, words cannot express my gratitude to him. Several friends have been part of the process that eventually led to this book, and I thank them wholeheartedly for their encouragement: Zandra, Mieke, Barbara, Myra,

Joy, Greek Pam, Zab and Jan Diederik. Finally, I thank my parents and sister for their loving support and unconditional belief in me. Without them I would not have been able to finish this work, and to them, therefore, I dedicate this book.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *ABSA* | *Annual of the British School at Athens* |
| *AE* | *L'Année Epigraphique* |
| *Anz. Ak. Wien* | *Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien* |
| *Ant. Pal.* | *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. A. Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1864–1890 |
| *BAtlas* | *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. R.J.A. Talbert, Princeton, 2000 |
| *BCH* | *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* |
| *BÉ* | *Bulletin Épigraphique* |
| *CIG* | *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* |
| *CIL* | *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* |
| *CJ* | *Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, Berlin 1900–05 |
| *CQ* | *Classical Quarterly* |
| *CTh* | *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. T. Mommsen et alii., 2 vols., Berlin 1905 |
| *CSEL* | *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* |
| *FIRA* | *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani: vol. 2, Auctores*, ed. S. Riccobono, J. Baviera. (2nd edn.; Florence, 1940) |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* |
| *HE* | *Historia Ecclesiastica* |
| *IG* | *Inscriptiones Graecae* |
| *IGLS* | *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde et alii, Paris, 1929– |
| *IK* | *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn, 1972– |
| *ILS* | *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916 |
| *IRT* | *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania,* ed. J.M. Reynolds, J.B. Ward Perkins, Rome 1952 |
| *JOAI* | *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* |
| *JRA* | *Journal of Roman Archaeology* |
| *JRS* | *Journal of Roman Studies* |
| *MAMA* | *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae* |
| *ND* | *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin, 1876 |
| *ÖJh* | *Österreichische Jahreshefte* |
| *PBSR* | *Papers of the British School at Rome* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *PG* | *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1857–1866 |
| *PIR* | *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi* I, II, III, 1st edn. by E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897–8), 2nd edn. by E. Groag, A. Stein, and others, 1933– |
| *PL* | *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1844–1891 |
| *PLRE* | *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, eds. A.H.M. Jones, J. Martindale, J. Morris, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1970–92 |
| *P. Ryl.* | *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1911– |
| *P. Yale* | *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, eds. J.F. Oates, A.E. Samuel, C.B. Welles, New Haven, 1967 |
| *RE* | *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,* München, 1894–1980 |
| *SB* | *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, F. Preisigke and others, Strassburg, 1915– |
| *SEG* | *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* |
| Wadd. | *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, W.H. Waddington. Roma, 1968 |

# NOTES TO THE READER

The first time any official appears, I have given his entry in the *PIR* or *PLRE*. Where such a reference is missing, I have been unable to find one. In respect to the translations of the primary sources, I have made my own translations of sources that lack an English translation. In the case of the sources where English translations exist, I have consulted those known to me, but have frequently revised them to restore technical terms or to use more current expressions where appropriate. In the case of the letters of Libanius, I have indicated the numbers as they appear in the edition of Foerster, but in the Appendix there is a concordance with the numbers in the translations of Norman and Bradbury.

# INTRODUCTION

> With fortunate omens you have come from the emperor, brilliant as a ray of the sun that appears to us on high. [. . .] When night and darkness covered the world, you were seen like the sun, and at once dissolved all the difficulties.[1]

Many Roman governors would have heard similar kind words of welcome upon their arrival in their province. To be received as the long awaited savior who immediately would solve all problems would flatter many a man, although one can imagine that the high expectations put serious pressure upon one individual. For centuries, provincial communities in the Roman Empire dealt with the presence of governors—a presence that created a certain expectation in behavior, both for provincials and for governors themselves. This book seeks to develop our appreciation of the relationship between provincials and governors in the period of the Later Roman Empire, with a focus on the perspective of provincial subjects. Questions such as how provincials communicated their needs to governors, how they expressed their opinions, both favorable and critical, of governors' behavior, and how they rewarded 'good' governors, give the reader precious insight into the world of Late Roman provincial administration: it was one in which routine, ceremonial, privileges and obligations played key roles in the ways both provincials and governors tried to gain as much as possible from their relationships.

A recurring theme throughout this study is the continuous dialogue between governors and provincials. For individual governors there was the unceasing tension between their own gains and the benefits of their leadership for provincials; meantime provincials were relentless in their attempts to explore a governor's boundaries of what he was willing to give them. Important in this dialogue is the language—both the words of communication and other material

[1] Menander Rhetor, 378–379, ἀλλ' ἥκεις μὲν ἐπ' αἰσίοις συμβόλοις ἐκ βασιλέως λαμπρός, ὥσπερ ἡλίου φαιδρά τις ἀκτὶς ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ὀφθεῖσα. [. . .] νυκτὸς καὶ ζόφου τὰ πάντα κατειληφότος αὐτὸς καθάπερ ἥλιος ὀφθεὶς πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ δυσχερῆ διέλυσας. Translations of Menander Rhetor are based on D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (1981) with changes where appropriate.

expressions—used by provincials and governors. Communication was the cement of the relationship. Its articulation started as soon as a governor arrived at the beginning of his term and was welcomed as if he was 'brilliant as the ray of the sun', as Menander Rhetor liked to say, and it continued until even after his term had ended.

Central also to the relationship between provincials and governors are the concepts of *expectations* and *perceptions*. Upon arrival in their provinces, governors met provincials, who had specific expectations of what they wanted them to accomplish during their term of office. At the same time, governors, too, arrived with expectations, and they needed to be on good terms with provincials for the creation of an advantageous environment, whether they regarded the governorship as an end stage in their career or as an intermediate step on their way to higher office. Provincials' actions often came in response to a governor's actions. If they perceived his actions as advantageous to them, they would cooperate and make the governor's stay rewarding. Equally, if a governor got the impression that provincials were willing to collaborate with him, he showed his beneficence.

While this study leads to a better understanding of Late Roman provincial administration, the larger question beyond this case study on the relationship between governors and provincials is how an empire as large as Rome's was able to function successfully. Continuity and change within the relationship between governors and provincials, the workings of social hierarchies, and the broader concept of interaction between ruler and subjects, are instructive illustrations of the functioning of any large empire.

The primary context of this book is the world of the Later Roman Empire: the start is marked by the reign of the emperor Diocletian (284–305), and the end by the accession of Justinian (527–565). Diocletian's creation of the tetrarchy and provincial reforms, starting in about 293, led to a new division of the empire into many more provinces and eventually to a novel system of dioceses and prefectures.[2] At the same time, he separated the traditional military and the civil functions of the governor.[3] From now on, each province

[2] See Barnes (1982), chapter 11 and 13 for more details on this new division, with revisions in *JRA* 9 (1996), 532–552. Also, Jones (1964), 37–76, for an explanation of Diocletian's re-organization of the provinces.

[3] See Seeck on *dux*, *RE* V 2, 1869–75. According to Bury (1923), 127, the sep-

had both a military commander (the *dux*, often responsible for more than one province[4]) and a civil governor. Up to Diocletian's time, governors had typically gone on an annual tour visiting a designated series of provincial communities, the so-called assize centers, to which they would come for inspection of the local administration and the hearing of court cases.[5] With the new division into approximately one hundred provinces, the territory of a single province was considerably smaller. Most likely, governors did not continue to travel on such regular tours, and so the frequency of their visits to different provincial communities may have been reduced. That is not to say, however, that fewer cities saw their governor. On the contrary, the old assize centers often ended up being the most important communities in the new division of the provinces, and the new provincial capitals were often former assize centers as well. These cities still had to receive the governor with the appropriate ceremonies, and needed him for favors and solutions to their problems. The governor remained the most important representative of Roman imperial authority in the province.

In the sixth century, after a troublesome era of loss of territory, Justinian combined various provinces in an attempt to secure what was left of the empire. His legislation in respect to the provinces changed the position of governors, because he ordered that bishops should supervise them, with the result that provincials' relationship with governors was transformed due to bishops' newly acquired authority and potential interference.[6] Even though I deliberately stop short of Justinian's measures, I address the relationship between governors and bishops, because the laws of Justinian were the culmination of a change that had its roots in the preceding two centuries.

---

aration of military and civil functions within provincial government had already started under the emperor Gallienus. De Blois (1976), 50, disagrees and follows Seston (1946) in the argument that in principal up to the reign of Diocletian the command of military troops in the provinces was in the hands of the governors. There were, however, special military appointments for *duces*, which could take over the military command of governors or extend beyond the boundaries of one province.

[4] Jones (1964), 44–45, and 608. According to Jones this separation of the military and civil command of a province came late in Diocletian's reign, and was not universal. In addition, he argued that in many provinces governors continued to be in charge of local forces.

[5] See Burton (1975) and Habicht (1975).

[6] *Codex Justinianus, Appendix Constitutionum* 7.12, *Novella.* 8.14.

The evidence collected here is primarily from the eastern part of the Roman Empire, and my focus therefore, is on the East, in particular on the provinces of the dioceses of Asiana, Pontica, and Oriens.[7] That is not to say that I completely discard the evidence from the western part of the Empire, for I am well aware of the value of materials such as the works of Saint Augustine, or the *acta* of the North African councils, but it is beyond the scope of this book to deal extensively with materials from the West.

Modern scholarship on Roman provincial government contains two serious deficiencies. First, there is no sustained study of the position and function of governors in the Later Roman Empire.[8] Second, the traditional focus on the point of view of the Roman authorities has created a serious neglect of provincials' perspective, which represents an angle worthy of a study in its own right.[9]

The neglect of the 'governor' falls into two categories. First, in terms of time, there have been some studies about governors in the Roman Republic and the Principate, such as Burton's dissertation—though never published—on the power and functions of proconsuls in the period between 70–260 A.D., and more recently the work by Schulz on governors in the Republic and by Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer on the political aspects of senatorial governorships in the Greek provinces in the Principate.[10] Still, much work needs to be done for this earlier period, as Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer himself acknowledged, when presenting the limitations of his own work as he focused on the political

[7] See the map. Based on the *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Seeck, 1876) which reflects the situation of the provinces in the East in 386 and 394 A.D., Asiana consisted of Asia, Hellespontus, Insulae, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia and Lycaonia. Pontica included Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Honorias, Galatia, Galatia Salutaris, Helenopontus, Pontus Polemoniacus, Cappadocia I, Cappadocia II, Armenia I and Armenia II. Oriens comprised Isauria, Cilicia, Cilicia II, Syria, Syria Salutaris, Euphratensis, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia, Phoenice, Phoenice Libani, Arabia, Palaestina I, Palaestina II, Palaestina Salutaris and Cyprus. Cf. also *BAtlas*, map 101.

[8] Governors are not the only officials to whom this applies. Others, such as Praetorian Prefects, Vicars or *duces*, all deserve further attention and exploration.

[9] This is not to overlook the partial start that has been made by modern scholarship: both the sixth and seventh volumes of *Antiquité Tardive* (1998 and 1999)—which devote almost all their articles to aspects of provincial government in Late Antiquity—are relevant here, but at the same time they only serve to illustrate the large gap in our knowledge of the governor.

[10] Burton (1973, diss.), Schulz (1997), Zwiffelhoffer (2002).

structure of governorships.[11] With regard to the Later Roman Empire, no such studies even exist, and a large lacuna needs to be filled. This study is a first step towards an interpretation of the position and perception of the Late Roman governor. The significance of a study on him lies in the fact that he presents an important link in the communication between provincial communities and the imperial government.

Second, the focus on emperors and imperial authority has taken away attention from lesser officials, even though much the same dynamic applies to all officials. For instance, it is striking that modern scholars have examined the reception of the emperor by the provincials, but have overlooked their reception of the governor. MacCormack's book *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981) gives an elaborate description of the so-called *adventus* ceremony for the emperor, held upon his arrival in a town.[12] The governor, likewise, had to be officially received when he arrived, and the contents of the welcome ceremony and speech for the emperor stand in close resemblance to those appropriate for the governor, as is well shown by the work of Menander Rhetor.[13] Of course, the welcome for the emperor had to be more elaborate than that for the governor. The principles of the reception, however, were the same. One could argue that the reception of the emperor was an enlarged version of the reception of the governor, and therefore it is important to look at the ways in which subjects dealt with their governor, because "to honor the governor was to honor the master who sent him."[14] Ando's work, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, explores this same issue. His primary concern is to analyze the ways in which emperors during the Principate and the early Dominate were honored and perceived by provincials.

My work undertakes the same type of investigation, but with the difference that I am addressing the *governor* in the Late Roman period. The relationship between subjects and ruler is not so much based on written laws, but on a social concept, as Ando argued: "provincial

[11] Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer (2002), 44.

[12] See also Halfmann (1986), and the section on imperial journeys in Millar (1992), 28–40.

[13] Comparison of Menander's advice on speeches to be given for the emperor and those for the governor shows striking similarities.

[14] Roueché (1998a), 32.

obedience to Roman domination is an ideological construct; its realization is dependent on many peoples sharing a complex of beliefs that sanctioned a peculiarly Roman notion of social order."[15] Ando's argument on Roman imperial ideology as an 'official language' which was used to (re)present the social structures of society with the objective to maintain the existing order, is useful for a study on governors, because they too were instruments of the imperial government, and were therefore part of the Roman imperial ideology.[16]

Instructive insights on the broader issue of interaction between Roman officials and provincial subjects are found in such works as Price's *Ritual and Power*, Brown's *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, and Lendon's *Empire of Honour*.[17] Although Price's focus is on the Early Empire, his illumination of the reciprocity of the relationship between Roman officials and provincials is fundamental. The rituals of the ceremonies for governors, for instance, were ideal instruments for enforcing Roman customs on provincials, and can be regarded as mechanisms of Romanization. These rituals were not merely a series of honors for Roman officials, but they also defined the position of those officials.[18] Brown discusses the different powers at work in the relationship between Roman authorities and provincial subjects. Persuasion was an important tool to be used by both provincials and governors to obtain favors from each other, or as Brown states it: "the effective governor was the one who maintained the reputation of being open to persuasion, because capable of persuasion."[19] Lendon's work, especially his chapter four on officials receiving honor while in office, is valuable for its explanation of the mechanisms at work when a Roman official is being honored. He emphasizes how important it is to provincials to show publicly that they are paying tribute to an official.

My study redresses the lack of a comprehensive study of the relationship between governors and provincials by employing such approaches to examine the interplay of ceremonial, reciprocity, honor, persuasion and perception, and to assess their effect on the character and structure of provincial life.

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15 Ando (2000), 5.
16 Ando (2000), 23.
17 Price (1984), Brown (1992), Lendon (1997).
18 Price (1984), 7–8.
19 Brown (1992), 33.

The second serious neglect is found in the fact that prior modern scholarship has mainly concentrated on the perspective of Roman authorities, without considering the equally important view of provincials.[20] Without the cooperation of provincials, governors could not successfully function during their term of office. Even though the presence of Roman authorities like governors was a permanent one, and provincials were used to dealing with governors all the time, individual governors' presence was temporary, because of their short term of office. The interdependence of individual governors and provincials is striking, and it deserves more recognition.

The 'provincial' voice was not a uniform voice of subjects who always agreed with each other. Different groups in a province had various opinions. The most obvious distinction was that between elites and lower classes. It is more difficult to form an idea of the opinions of the lower classes, because the majority of our sources are written by and about members of the elite. Nevertheless, it is possible to show instructive examples of occasions when the lower classes had their voice heard loud and clearly. Moreover, the lower classes were undeniably closely linked to the elite, as Millar acknowledged when he argued that cities "were run by a network of local aristocratic families, whose doings, public and private, were the subject of intense observer participation—approbation, curiosity, indignation, incipient violence—on the part of the lower classes of the towns."[21]

My work is a deliberate effort to move beyond the established prosopographic approach to the sources, even though the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* has been crucial for the identification of the individual governors and their source material.[22] I choose a closer focus on institutions, because this study looks into the general functioning of provincial government.[23] While looking at individual cases, the purpose of this study is to bring to light larger themes and patterns that characterized Late Roman provincial government such as

[20] The recent work of Zwiffelhoffer (2002) is an exception to this claim. His book on the 'Regierungsstil' of senatorial governors during the Principate concentrated on the provincial point of view as well.

[21] Millar (1981), 69.

[22] *PLRE* I and II. See Cameron (2003) for the most recent discussion of the study of prosopography.

[23] Millar's *Emperor of the Roman World* (1992 with new afterword) and Talbert's *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984) are prime examples of this type of approach.

social structure and hierarchy in the provinces, the representation of authority, the rhythm of provincial government and its elements of routine, and the language of communication between provincials and governors.

For a wide-ranging study on the position, representation and perception of governors in the Later Roman Empire it is essential to draw on a broad range of sources such as legal, literary, epigraphic, and artistic material, because a focus on only one type of material would have resulted in an incomplete and skewed presentation. Inscriptions, for instance, are always honorific, and give a different image of governors from those acclamations that criticize their competence. Let me, however, briefly draw attention to the limitations of every type of source.

The main sources for governors' legal position are the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Codex Justinianus*. The emperor Theodosius II (408–450) ordered the collection into one law code of all imperial legislation issued from the reign of Constantine the Great (312–337) up to his own time; this resulted in 437 in the publication of the *Codex Theodosianus*.[24] It supplemented the two existing codes of imperial rescripts to be dated to the reign of Diocletian (284–305): the *Codex Gregorianus* and the *Codex Hermogenianus*.[25] A century later, the emperor Justinian (527–565) decided to issue the compilation of a new, more comprehensible and less cumbersome law code based on the three earlier ones: the *Codex Justinianus*.[26] Even though the starting point of my dissertation is the reign of Diocletian, the governor's office and its regulations went back to the period of the Roman Republic, and many laws of the Theodosian and Justinianic Code reflect this earlier period as well.

Historians who use these law codes as historical sources face several difficulties, because from the codes it is often not clear what specific situations triggered the interference of the emperor that led to the laws.[27] In addition, the compilers of the law codes made a selection from the earlier codes, by which they not only choose which laws, but also which parts of the laws to include in their code. In

[24] Jones (1964), 475–77. See Matthews (2000) for an extensive discussion.
[25] Jones (1964), 472–74. Matthews (2000), 10.
[26] Jones (1964), 477.
[27] See also Harries (1999), 25.

this respect, Harries asked, rightfully so in my opinion, if the compilers indeed would have extracted "from the now irrecoverable complete text the bit that really mattered?"[28] These issues are also relevant to the laws that apply to governors. In many situations one can only speculate as to the circumstances under which certain laws were issued. For instance, the numerous laws against corruption of the members of a governor's staff probably could mean that corruption was widespread and not easy to eradicate with laws, and emperors felt the need to restate earlier laws repeatedly. Or, the emphasis in laws on equal treatment of the poor and rich alike in a governor's courtroom could mean that in reality they often were treated differently or that the emperor wanted to make a statement for the sake of his own image. Nevertheless, laws are indispensable for a study on governors and provincials.

As far as the literary sources are concerned, key to this study are the didactic oratorical treatises by Menander Rhetor, Himerius' speeches, Libanius' letters and orations, the correspondence of both Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, the work by Synesius and the Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite.

Menander of Laodicea on the Lycus, also called Menander Rhetor (*PLRE* I, Menander 1) was an orator and teacher of rhetoric in the late third century.[29] He wrote two treatises on epideictic theory and practice, in which he discussed different types of speeches for occasions on which provincials would address their governor. Menander's work is important because it illustrates an essential aspect of the relationship between governors and provincials: the language of their communication. We are fortunate to have the welcome and praise speeches for governors written by Himerius (*PLRE* II, Himerius 2): these actually make possible a comparison with the prescriptions of Menander Rhetor. Himerius was one of the most famous sophists of the fourth century. He was born in Bithynia in 320, but spent a considerable part of his life teaching rhetoric in Athens.[30] His work

[28] Harris (1999), 25.

[29] See the introduction of Russell and Wilson (1981) to their edition.

[30] He was in Constantinople between 343 and 352, and again between 361 to 369 to spend time at the imperial court. He taught rhetoric in Athens from 352 until 361, and in 369 he returned to Athens, where he stayed until his death some time in the 380s. See Barnes (1987), 207–09 for discussion on Himerius' date of birth. Also, Völker (2003), 3, and 368–69, Appendix 4, which is a time table of Himerius' life.

is known mainly through Photius (ca. 810–893), who in his *Bibliotheca* described most of Himerius' corpus of speeches.[31]

Libanius (*PLRE* I, Libanius 1) was born in Antioch in 314, and received his initial education in Greek poetry and rhetoric there. After study in Athens, he spent time both in Nicomedia and Constantinople, where he taught rhetoric, but he never severed ties with the city of his birth which he cherished and always wished to return to. He did so in 354, and occupied the municipal chair of rhetoric until his death in 393. Because of his valuable connections Libanius became a great patron of the city of Antioch, often functioning as an important mediator between the city and the imperial court. His orations and letters are of particular interest for the study of the governor.[32]

The letters of two of the famous Church Fathers, St. Basil of Caesarea and his contemporary St. Gregory of Nazianzus, who were both born in the late 320s, are invaluable for my study.[33] They both corresponded with governors, asking them for favors and offering them their support; thereby they offer an extraordinary insight into the world of the Church elite and their dealings with Roman officials.

[31] In some instances, speeches have only survived in excerpts (ἐκλογή) in Photius. For the primary Greek text of the speeches, I use the edition by Colonna (1951). There are sixteen orations for governors, though not all have survived in the same condition. Himerius, *Orationes* 12, 20, 23, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 42, 46, 47 and 48. Some are fairly complete, whereas others are much shorter, their text damaged and incomplete. Another four speeches are known only by title: *Orationes* 49, 50, 51 and 53. See Völker (2003), 48–9, for a schematic overview of all the extant speeches for high officials (Praetorian Prefects, Vicars, proconsuls, *consulares*, *comites*, the *magister officiorum* and the *magister libellorum*). The identification of the addressees is based on the titles of the orations; in general these titles are not thought to be by Himerius himself, but they are accepted as old and reliable by modern scholarship. See also Barnes (1987), 207.

[32] Libanius' corpus consists of 64 orations and a total of 1544 letters, of which currently 376 are available in an English translation. Two volumes of letters in the Loeb Classical Library by Norman (1992) and the collection by Bradbury (2003). About 1250 of the letters were written during the single decade, spring 355 to summer 365, which Bradbury therefore calls "one of the best-documented periods from antiquity." (*introduction*, iv). I am grateful to Bradbury for making the manuscript of his translations available to me before publication.

[33] Together with Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, they were also called the Cappadocian Fathers. See Meredith (1995), 10–18, for a discussion of the background of Cappadocian theology. For more background information on both Gregory and Basil see McGuckin (2001, on Gregory), Rousseau (1994, on Basil) and Van Dam (2002 and 2003).

Another bishop whose work is of significance is Synesius of Cyrene (*PLRE* II, Synesius 1) who came from a rich family, and studied rhetoric and philosophy at Alexandria under the famous teacher of Neoplatonist philosophy, Hypatia. In 410 he was elected bishop of Ptolemais, much against his will as it appears.[34] From his period as bishop there are several letters about and against the new governor of Libya Superior, Andronicus of Berenice, which are significant for this study.[35]

The Syriac Chronicle by Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite is a historical narrative of the city of Edessa and its surrounding territory in the province of Osrhoene in the period 494–502. This was a time of distress for the city in the form of a plague of locusts, famine, epidemic, and the war between the Persian king Kawad and the Byzantine emperor Anastasius.[36] The precise date and the name of the author of the treatise are unknown, although the name of Joshua the Stylite has been attached to it. Trombley and Watt believe that he was the scribe of the manuscript.[37] Because the Chronicle describes the history of Edessa and its sufferings, the governors frequently play a role in their endeavors to bring relief to the provincials.[38]

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[34] Synesius, *Epistulae* 79, 143–45: "You must know that my death had been predicted to fall upon a certain day of the year. That day turned out to be the one on which I entered on the priesthood. I felt a change in my life, I who up to that moment have held festal assemblies in it, and have enjoyed honor from men, and benevolence such as granted to no philosopher before me—no less outwardly than in the state of the soul. [. . .] and save Ptolemais from shame. I beg you, that city which appointed me its bishop against my own will—as that all-seeing eye of God knows". οἶσθα ὅτι μοι μαντευτὸς ἦν θάνατος εἰς κυρίαν τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν. καὶ γέγονεν ἐκείνη, καθ' ἣν ἱερασάμην. ᾐσθόμην μεταβολῆς βίου, ὃς ἄχρι νῦν ἐμπανηγυρίσας αὐτῷ καὶ τιμῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ πάσης γρλυκυθυμίας παρ' ὁντινοῦν τῶν πώποτε περιλοσοφηκότων ἀπολελαυκώς, οὐχ ἧττον διὰ τὰ θύραθεν ἢ διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ψυχῆς [. . .] ἀπάλλαξον κατεφείας Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν λαχοῦσαν με πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ γ' ἐθέλοντος· οἶδεν ὁ πάντα ὁρῶν ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. See also Liebeschuetz (1986) and Roos (1991), 2–5.

[35] Synesius, *Epistulae* 41 (57), 42 (58), 72, 73, 79, and 90. Numbering is that of Garzya (1979), with in brackets the numbering of Hercher's edition of 1873.

[36] Trombley and Watt (2000), *introduction*, xi, "The text is well known to students of Syriac literature as the earliest extant text of Syriac historiography, but it is of special interest to historians of the life of an East Roman city in a period of strain, and as the fullest account of the Romano-Persian war of 502–506."

[37] Against Luther (1997), 12–16, who believes that Joshua was the author of the Chronicle. See Trombley and Watt (2000), *introduction*, xxiv–xxviii, for their hypotheses on the author and his sympathies based on internal evidence of the text.

[38] See Trombley and Watt (2000), *introduction*, xxxv, for a discussion of the importance of the chronicle into the wider context of the sixth century.

One of the main difficulties with the interpretation of the literary sources is the elite bias. Most such material—be it the invectives against governors in the case of Libanius as the patron and famous orator of Antioch, or the Christian rhetoric of the bishops Basil and Gregory—is written from an elite perspective, by men who were highly educated, and who had their own agenda.[39] On the other hand, these sources reflect the society in which the authors lived, and their writings echo the reality of their world with its values, concerns and problems.[40] The only real context of the ancient sources is the world they came from. They were mostly not created with an idea of survival to many centuries later when we choose to study them. Seeck said as much when he wrote about Libanius, who thought: "bei seinen Schriften vor allem an seinen Ruf bei den Zeitgenossen, auf dem sein Einkommen beruht nicht an die ferne Nachwelt."[41]

While the time span of my work covers several centuries, most of the literary sources, with the exception of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, are strongly concentrated on the fourth century. That is not a deliberate choice, but the accident of the sources left to us.[42] It is notable with these literary sources that the authors are men who lived in the same part of the empire, who knew each other and who had much in common, either through their education, their positions, or through their correspondence with one another. Both Basil and Gregory were taught by Himerius in Athens, while Libanius competed against Himerius in a rhetorical contest.[43] In the course of their education in rhetoric, most likely they all became familiar with the work of Menander Rhetor. Altogether, it seems an advantage to have several sources from the same period, because they allow for a fuller picture.

Honorific inscriptions play an important role in the discussion about the ways in which provincials praised governors. Inscriptions

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[39] See also Seeck (1920), 84, on difficulties in the interpretation of Libanius' work.

[40] See Alan Cameron (1976), 274–76, for a discussion of how these works can be used for historical analysis.

[41] Seeck (1920), 84.

[42] See Roueché (1997), 355–56, for the observation, that she has become "more and more aware of the extent to which our understanding is limited by the circumstances governing the evidence."

[43] Völker (2003), 4–5. Libanius, *Epistula* 742. The speech of Libanius on this occasion is extant (46), but Himerius' is lost.

by and for governors have not yet been collected in a systematic way or given adequate attention through analysis. The work by Robert in his fourth volume of *Hellenica* is a partial exception, because it is a collection, even though somewhat unsystematic, of epigrams for governors in the Later Roman Empire.[44] The most important inscriptions for my purpose are published in the corpora of inscriptions from Ephesus (*IK Eph*) and Aphrodisias (as collected by Roueché, 1984), in *L'Annee Epigraphique* (*AE*), and in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*). It is not my intention to discuss many inscriptions at great length, but to present a range of them that reveal striking similarities with the characteristics of governors' image as it emerges from the other types of sources.

Inscriptions for governors are most often found on statue bases as part of an honorific monument set up for governors after their term of office. For the most comprehensible insight into the practice of commemorating governors it is best to discuss the inscriptions in the context of the entire monument. Not many statues of governors have survived or are identifiable as those of governors, but the archaeological findings from Ephesus and Aphrodisias do permit a case study of five statues with their inscriptions. Statues as a visual medium convey a different, though in some respects quite similar, message of provincials' image of governors.

The chapters are organized thematically either based on one of the (un)official functions and roles of a governor or on provincial attitudes such as criticism or praise displayed toward governors. The first chapter, *The Position of the Governor in Administration, A.D. 284–527*, offers an overview of governors' position and their obligations. What did provincials expect from a governor during his term of office? The terminology of "governor" calls for some explanation, since several 'titles' are in use: in Latin, *proconsul*, *consularis*, *praeses*, *corrector*, and *comes*; or in Greek, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος, ὁ ὑπατικός, ὁ πρεσβευτής. Even though the focus in the first chapter is on governors, their titles and rank, legal position and obligations, their significance is also put in the larger context of Roman administration, to which the last part of the chapter is devoted. Governors were part of a hierarchical system of officials, in which they were at the bottom of the pyramid, whereas Vicars and Praetorian Prefects

[44] Robert (1948).

ranked above them with ultimately the emperor at the top. In addition, governors encountered bishops as well, who increasingly competed with them for the favor of the provincial community at large.

Chapter two, *The Governor as Judge: Competence versus Corruption*, focuses on the governor in his function as a judge, because jurisdiction was one of his most important and time-consuming activities. How did provincials respond to the way he fulfilled this task? And from a governor's point of view, what qualities did he need to fulfill the duty of jurisdiction, and what obstacles did he encounter? Provincial jurisdiction was a matter not only of how competent the governor proved in dealing with the law, but also of how well he could endure the pressures of the different parties in a court case to give them the verdict they wanted and for which they might be willing to pay.

Chapter three, *The Governor as Benefactor: a Two-Way Relationship*, discusses the governor as a benefactor to provincial individuals and communities. A governor could be a stimulating force when he showed his appreciation for the provincials, for instance, by financially supporting buildings, by his presence at games and entertainment, or by his assistance in solving problems. In many provincial communities, governors started to take over the role of private local benefactors. How did communities deal with this change, and what evidence can be found of the governor in this role of 'motivator' and benefactor? Furthermore, although governors had the more formal role of being benefactors, I argue that provincials also took on the role of benefactors for governors. As a result, the reciprocity of benefactions became crucial for a rewarding relationship between both parties.

The subject of both the fourth and fifth chapter is the commemoration of the achievements of governors during and after their term of office. How and for what sort of actions were they honored? Praise took many forms—speeches of praise, poems, acclamations, honorific inscriptions, statues—though the great variety of sources offers a strikingly uniform presentation of governors in terms of verbal and material images. The fourth chapter, *Speeches, Poems and Acclamations for Governors*, focuses on literary sources, whereas the fifth chapter, *Inscriptions and Statues for Governors*, deals with visual remains of honorific monuments for governors. Although the fourth and fifth chapters thematically belong together, I have deliberately chosen to separate the material into two chapters in order to do justice to the different types of source material.

Chapter six, *Provincials' Attitudes toward Governors: Criticism as a Mirror Image of Expectations*, analyzes the ways in which provincials represented the governor to the emperor, to other officials, or to the world at large. In this chapter, I concentrate on criticism, because those who criticized a governor exploited the same themes as those who praised him. It is possible, therefore, to determine provincials' expectations through their criticism. The second part of the chapter analyzes the reasons why provincials dared to criticize a governor openly and during his term of office; this behavior seems to be a new feature of the Later Roman Empire.

In the final part, the *Conclusion: The Governor "Brilliant as a Ray of the Sun?"*, I synthesize the material with the intention of developing a comprehensive view of provincials' varying perspectives.

CHAPTER ONE

# THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNOR IN ADMINISTRATION, A.D. 284–527

## *Governors: their position, titles and ranks*

Before turning to the relationship between governors and provincials, it is necessary, though it might seem a bit tedious, to clarify the basic framework for the position of governors in Late Roman administration and to discuss briefly the ancient sources upon which our understanding of it is based. Presentation of these foundations is far from straightforward, because treatment even of such basic aspects both in the ancient sources and modern scholarship seems to be virtually non-existent. There is no single ancient source that discusses the subject of the 'governor,' his position, and his obligations at length. First, therefore, I need to reconstruct this framework.

Numerous laws in the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Codex Justinianus* outline the privileges and obligations of a governor's position. Two other documents play a significant role in our understanding of the constitutional framework of provincial government. First, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, compiled in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., gives a list of offices with illustrations of military insignia and details of the military and civil provincial establishments.[1] For the model of provincial government beyond the fifth century the value of the *Notitia Dignitatum* is limited, because it reflects the situation for the East in the period between 386 and 394, and the West around 419.[2] The

[1] See Brennan (1996) for the argument that the *Notitia Dignitatum* should not be understood as a manual of the structure of late Roman administration, but as an ideological document that represents the new political culture of the late Roman Empire. See also Kulikowski (2000) who disagrees with Brennan. I follow Kulikowski and use the *Notitia Dignitatum* as a document that is valuable in understanding the structure of late Roman provincial government.

[2] Some of the laws in the *Codex Justinianus*, though, clearly show continuation into the sixth century of the offices mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. See Palme (1999), 103, Cameron (1993), 26, Roueché (1998b), 83, and Kelly (*CAH*[2] XIII), 163–66. For an extensive discussion of the difficulties with the date of the *Notitia Dignitatum* see Jones (1964), Appendix II, who dates the part of the *Notitia Dignitatum*

second document, the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles—put together in its earliest edition perhaps early in the reign of Justinian—is a Greek catalogue of the cities of most of the eastern provinces, which lists the rank of the governors as well.[3] In addition to these sources, inscriptions also provide information about the usage of titles and rank.

The position of governors needs to be seen within the broader context of Roman provincial administration. They were part of a larger structure of hierarchical administrative units that were under the ultimate control of the emperor. By the end of the fourth century a system had developed with three components: provinces, dioceses and prefectures. The provinces were the smallest units in the system. After Diocletian had reduced their size, the number of provinces had been raised to about hundred.[4] There is much uncertainty about the precise moment of creation of the dioceses and prefectures.[5] Undoubtedly, their development needs to be seen as a process that was essentially completed by the end of the fourth century. The grouping of several provinces into one of the twelve dioceses appears not to have been a creation of Diocletian, or if it was, it must have been at a very late stage in his rule.[6] The so-called Verona List, to be dated to the first years of Constantine's rule around 314, gives the names of twelve dioceses.[7] Vicars were at the

dealing with the East to 401 and the West to 423. Brennan (1996) accepts 394–96 as the date for the eastern list and 425 at the latest for the western list. I follow Kulikowski (2000) who argues that the list of the eastern part was compiled between 386—May 394 and that the list of the western part has undergone its final changes in 419 or possibly even later.

[3] See Roueché (1998b), 84, for a discussion of the date of the *Synecdemus*, and the difficulties of interpretation.

[4] Noethlichs (1982), 72.

[5] See the discussion in Jones (1954), Vogler (1979), Noethlichs (1982) and Barnes (1996).

[6] Noethlichs (1982), 72.

[7] Barnes (1996), 549–50, acknowledges that Jones (1964) might have been right in supposing that the Verona List belongs to the later months of 314. According to the Verona List there were twelve dioceses: Britanniae, Galliae, Viennensis, Hispaniae, Africa, Italia, Pannonia, Moesiae, Thracia, Asiana, Pontica and Oriens. By the early decades of the fifth century, there are some changes in the dioceses system, according to the list of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The dioceses of Galliae and Viennensis are combined into one diocese: Septem Provinciae. The name of the diocese of Pannonia has been changed into Illyricum, and Moesiae has been split into the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia. Finally, the provinces in Egypt, that were part of Oriens, have been placed into a new diocese of Aegyptus. See Jones (1964), Appendix III, 1451–61.

head of dioceses.[8] The dioceses were assembled in the four prefectures of the Gauls, Italia, Illyricum and Oriens that were governed by Praetorian Prefects, though it is not quite clear when they were first assigned to these clearly demarcated prefectures. An increase of the number of Praetorian Prefects evolved from the creation of the tetrarchy when the emperors each needed a Praetorian Prefect on their staff who traveled with them, though before 324 there is no evidence for more than two prefects.[9] By 341 the three prefectures of Gallia, Italia and Oriens were clearly designated, whereas up to the end of the fourth century for certain periods the fourth prefecture seems to have been either Illyricum or Africa.[10] By the end of the fourth century a system of provinces, dioceses and prefectures seems to have been in place that in principal lasted up to the time of Justinian when loss of the empire's territory caused great difficulties for the continued existence of this structure.

As far as ranking is concerned, a Vicar was subordinate to a Praetorian Prefect, but was superior to governors, with the exception of proconsuls who were ranked above Vicars.[11] In addition, governors were no longer responsible for the military in a province, but merely had civil authority. Thus, in order to insure stability in their province, they had to cooperate with the emperor's military commander in the region (*dux*).[12] Apart from these higher officials with

[8] The number of dioceses was not equal to the number of Vicars. The *Notitia Dignitatum* specifies four Vicars for the East (of Asiana, Pontica, Thracia and Macedonia), and six for the West (Italia, Urbs Roma, Africa, Hispaniae, Britanniae, and the Gallic 'Septem Provinciae'). The dioceses of Illyricum and of Dacia did not have a Vicar, the diocese of the Orient was ruled by the *Comes Orientis*, and Egypt by a *Praefectus Augustalis*.

[9] Jones (1964), 101–102. See Barnes (1996), 546, for the argument that between 328 and 332 there were colleges of five Praetorian Prefects. See also Vogler (1979), 111–130, for a discussion on the difficulty dating the first clearly demarcated territories of prefectures.

[10] Vogler (1979), 112.

[11] Schneider on *vicarius* in *RE* VIIIa 2, 2015–2053. The superior position of the proconsuls over Vicars had its origins in the status of both men; the Vicar initially came from the *equites*, whereas the proconsuls were senators. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.10 of 379. See Noethlichs (1982), 74–5, for the argument that before 314 Vicars did not have lesser status than Praetorian Prefects but often functioned as their replacements when needed. Up to 314 the titulature of Vicars indicates this position: *agens vices praefecti praetorio*. See *Codex Theodosianus* 2.7.1 of 314 for the first reference in the law codes of the title Vicar without a specific territory and *Codex Theodosianus* 9.18.1 of 315 for the first reference to a Vicar with his territory (Africa).

[12] Jones (1964), 101. A separation of military and civil functions led to an increasingly sharper division between military and civilian careers.

whom governors had to collaborate, they also encountered the prominence and authority of bishops, who after the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire constituted the most powerful members of a community. For these reasons, in the last part of this chapter there is a brief discussion of the position of governors in relation to the emperor, Praetorian Prefects, Vicars and bishops.

In respect to their titles and ranks, governors cannot be regarded as a uniform group. By the time of Diocletian and Constantine, a hierarchical and complex system of titles and ranks had developed, and continued to evolve.

| Title | Rank (early 4th cent.) | Rank (end 4th cent.) |
|---|---|---|
| *praeses* | *perfectissimus*/διασημότατος | *clarissimus*/λαμπρότατος |
| *corrector* | *clarissimus*/λαμπρότατος | *clarissimus*/λαμπρότατος |
| *consularis* | *clarissimus*/λαμπρότατος | *clarissimus*/λαμπρότατος |
| *proconsul* | *clarissimus*/λαμπρότατος | *spectabilis*/περίβλεπτος |

Schematic overview of the titles and ranks of provincial governors in the fourth century.

There were four different titles for governors: *praeses, corrector, consularis* and *proconsul*, which corresponded to an ascending order of importance.[13] Based on the numbers in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, there were 116 governors by the first quarter of the fifth century. The largest category of governors consisted of *praesides*, who governed the smaller provinces.[14] Second, *correctores* were governors of the provinces in Italy, although originally they had been special appointees of the emperor for extraordinary assignments.[15] Third, *consularis* was initially

[13] Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*. 9.1.13 of 376. See also Radke on *praeses, RE Suppl.* VIII, 598–614, and Ausbüttel, (1988), 109.

[14] See the *Notitia Dignitatum*. In the East of the empire (*Notitia Dignitatum*, *Oriens* I, 25–128), there were 40 *praesides*, 2 *correctores*, 15 *consulares*, and 2 *proconsules*. In the Western part (*Notitita Dignitatum*, *Occidens* I, 22–121) there were 31 *praesides*, 3 *correctores*, 22 *consulares* and one *proconsul*. See Jones (1964, appendix III, 1451–61), for an overview and changes of the different dioceses, provinces and titles for governors, based on the Verona List, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, and Justinian's *Novella* VIII.

[15] Originally, in the early second century A.D. *correctores* were called *legati Augusti ad corrigendum statum*. Thomasson (1991), 80.

used to indicate the position of a man who was or had been *consul*, but by the third century it had also become one of the titles for governor, without his necessarily having been a consul. As a result, in the Later Roman Empire, there were two groups of *consulares*: a group of men who had been consul and had a seat and vote in the Senate (in Rome or Constantinople), and a second group of men who were governors, but had not necessarily been consuls.[16] Finally, the title of *proconsul* was only for the governors of Africa, Asia and Achaea. During the Principate it had been the title for a governor of a 'public' province, but after the reforms of Diocletian there were only two pro-consulships left, Africa and Asia, which had become the two most prestigious provinces.[17] In the early fourth century a third pro-consulship was created for Achaea.[18]

Apart from these official titles, there were also four general 'terms' for a governor: *praeses*, *rector*, *moderator*, and *iudex ordinarius*.[19] These terms were frequently used in the law codes,[20] because of their generalization by which the governor, as Corcoran states, "retains a vague anonymity, with the timeless flavor of representing almost any governor of any province, being designated baldly as *praeses* or *rector provinciae*."[21] The 'term' *praeses* is especially confusing, because it overlaps with the 'title' of *praeses*.[22] Although the terminology of both

[16] Kübler on *consularis* in *RE* 4, 1138–1142. Cf. Kuhoff (1982), 276, and Foss (1983), 211.

[17] See Jones (1954), 27, for the argument that Diocletian and his successors no longer had much use for senatorial governors and therefore only left the provinces of Africa and Asia with a proconsul as governor, though they were reduced considerably in size.

[18] *ILS* 1217, 1258. Jones (1954), 28, wants to date the emergence of the proconsulate of Achaea to 313 when Constantine gained control over the area, whereas Kuhoff (1982), 278, argues that its date is unknown. See Talbert (1984), 392–407, for a more extensive discussion of the differences between public and imperial provinces.

[19] Ausbüttel (1988), 109. The general term 'praeses' could also be used for imperial legates who ruled provinces. See *Digesta* 1.18.1, *praesidis nomen generale est eoque et proconsules et legati Caesaris et omnes provincias regentes, licet senatores sint, praesides appellantur: proconsulis appellatio specialis est.* The term *moderator* became the official title for a governor under Justinian in 535 (*Codex Justinianus* VIII, of 535). Also Jones (1964), 373. Cf. Corcoran (1996, 234–39, and appendix G) who has shown how and where these four titles in the imperial rescripts appear as well.

[20] For example, *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.1–3, 1.15.1, 2.26.3 (*praeses*), 1.15.6, 2.1.2, 2.1.11, 6.30.15, 6.35.10, 12.12.9, (*rector*), 1.10.8, 1.16.8, 1.16.14, 10.10.32, 12.6.32, 16.2.31 (*moderator*), 1.5.10, 1.5.12–13, 6.2.20, 7.18.8, 10.10.7, 13.10.8 (*iudex ordinarius*).

[21] Corcoran (1996), 235.

[22] This confusion has its origins in the period of the Early/High Empire when

governors' titles and general terms is presented in Latin—the language of Roman administration was Latin—most of my ancient sources are in fact from the eastern part of the Empire and therefore Greek: the equivalent terms are ὁ ἄρχων (in general used for 'governor'[23]), ὁ ὑπατικός (consularis), ὁ ἀνθύπατος (proconsul).

The ranking of the different titles—a *praeses* was by no means equal to a *proconsul*—raises the question of whether governors needed to hold several lower governorships before they could obtain the highest governorship of proconsul, with possibly the ambition to hold still higher office such as Vicar (ὁ βικάριος) or even Praetorian Prefect (ὁ ἔπαρχος πραιτώριου). Although there seems not to have been an official ruling, the extant source material indicates that several posts might have been necessary for advancement into the higher offices.[24] The career of L. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonius (*PLRE* I, Proculus 11) serves as an illustration of the complexity of holding governorships, as he was '*legatus pro praetore Numidiae*, *peraequator census provinciae Calleciae, praeses Byzacenae, consularis Europae et Thraciae, consularis Sardiniae, proconsul Africae.*[25] Proculus' career demonstrates that one man could actually hold the same grade of governorship more than once, in his case that of *consularis.*[26]

There is a clear relationship between the title of a governor, and his social status and class. All governors came from the upper classes, which consisted of the senatorial and equestrian orders. Within these orders, senators carried the rank *clarissimus* (λαμπρότατος), whereas

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*praeses* was used as a general term for governor, almost like a term of praise, especially in inscriptions, whereas in the Later Roman Empire it became one of the official titles for the governorship. See *CIL* 10.7580 (= *ILS* 1358), *proc. Aug. praef. Prov. Sardiniae v. e(gregius) praeses rarissimus*, as an example of the use of *praeses* as a term of praise. Other examples are found in *CIL* 6.1401, *CIL* 3.202, *ILS* 9008 (*AE* 1904, 150); from Pflaum (1960–61), 111–14. Based on several passages from the *Codex Theodosianus*, Radke (*RE Suppl.* VIII, 609–11) has argued that in the Later Empire *praeses* was still used as a general term.

[23] Ὁ ἄρχων can also be used for other types of ruler, such as the Praetorian Prefect or the Vicar.

[24] Radke on *consularis* in *RE Suppl.* VIII, 608. Cf. the case of Alpinius Magnus Eumenius (*PLRE* I, Magnus 8), who provides the only evidence, to my knowledge, of a man who actually held all the governorships, except for the proconsulship; *praeses Corsicae* (*AE* 1962, 144d), *corrector Lucaniae et Brittiorum* (*CIL* 10.517 = *ILS* 708), *consularis Siciliae* (*AE* 1966, 167).

[25] *CIL* 6.1690 (= *ILS* 1240).

[26] Cf. *CIL* 11.831 (= *ILS* 1218), example of L. Nonius Verus (*PLRE* I, Verus 4), who was *praeses Lusitaniae*, twice *corrector* (of *Apulia et Calabria* and of *Venetia et Istria*), and then became Vicar.

*equites* could be *perfectissimus* (διασημότατος), *egregius* (κράτιστος), or *eminentissimus* (ἐξοχώτατος), the last reserved only for Praetorian Prefects.[27] The same distinction of rank and titulature was used for governors. A *praeses* came from the group of *equites* and was therefore ranked *perfectissimus*. *Correctores, consulares* and *proconsules* mostly carried senatorial rank and were consequently *clarissimi*.[28] In general, men with higher rank and social status ruled provinces that were regarded as more prestigious and more vital to the empire, while governors of lesser rank held office in provinces with lesser status.[29]

In the third century, emperors began to give preference to *equites* over senators for many public offices, especially those that required military experience. As a result, senators were pushed out of many offices, although the few still available to them were those of the highest honor: the proconsulships, the City Prefecture and the ordinary consulship.[30] After Constantine the Great (307–337), however, a reverse development occurred, by which the equestrian order faded away, due to expansion of the senatorial order.[31] A new senate was created in Constantinople, and Constantine appointed senators to posts that had been reserved for *equites*, such as *praeses*, Vicar or Praetorian Prefect (the highest equestrian office). Simultaneously, additional posts were created for senators by upgrading some governorships from *praeses* to *consularis*.[32] Thus, more senators were brought back into public service.[33] With the shrinking of the equestrian order the enlarged senatorial order became the exclusive elite of the empire.[34] Consequently, by the end of the fourth century, all governors came from the senatorial order.

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[27] After Diocletian the use of *egregius* slowly disappeared (one of the rare cases can be found in *Ephem. Epigr.* V 956). See Seeck on *egregiatus* in *RE* V, 2006–2010. Jones (1964, n. 9, 1220), argued that the last mention of *egregius* is in the *Codex Theodosianus* 6.12.1 of 324.

[28] Ausbüttel (1988), 113–14.

[29] Ausbüttel (1988), 114.

[30] Kuhoff (1982), 273–74.

[31] Radke on *consularis*, *RE Suppl.* VIII, 606. See Jones (1964), 525–30 and Kuhoff (1982), 275–76.

[32] Jones (1954), 28. Kuhoff (1982), 276. The provinces of Byzacium and Numidia changed from having a *praeses* to a *consularis*.

[33] Jones (1964), 526–27.

[34] Jones (1964), 528. By no means did the equestrian order disappear, but in order to obtain some of the higher public offices, a man eventually needed to find his way into the senatorial order.

Within the senatorial order, however, not all senators were regarded as equal, but were ranked based on the offices they held. By the time of Valentinian I (364–75) and his son Gratian (375–83), three ranks had developed among senators: the highest being *illustris* (ἰλλούστρις), followed by *spectabilis* (περίβλεπτος) and the lowest *clarissimus* (λαμπρότατος).[35] Of the governors, *praesides*,[36] *correctores* and *consulares* were all *clarissimi*, whereas a proconsul was ranked *spectabilis* as the Vicar was, while the Praetorian Prefect was styled *illustris*. By 440, *illustres* had acquired more privileges—fiscal and jurisdictional—than the other two senatorial ranks, and had become the core group of the elite.[37]

Apart from the traditional way of obtaining a governorship by progression through an established set of public offices, it could also be bestowed by imperial grant as an honorary office.[38] This grant was an important, though not novel, phenomenon of the Later Roman world.[39] The emperor bestowed honorary offices, and consequently also the ranks, by imperial codicil. All titles of offices could be obtained honorifically, even a prominent one such as Praetorian Prefect.[40] The law codes indicate that an honorary rank did not come free of charge. For instance, the gift of the rank of ex-governor (*ex-praeses*) needed to be compensated for by the recipient with a payment of two horses immediately upon receiving the rank. Furthermore, the recipient needed to repeat this payment of two horses every five

[35] Jones (1964), 529, "Higher grades in the senatorial order could only be achieved by tenure of appropriate offices or by imperial grant of equivalent status, even though membership to the order was still hereditary, but everyone started out as *clarissimi*." See also Kuhoff (1982), 272.

[36] The latest recorded *praesides perfectissimi* seem to be Flavius Felix Gentilis of Mauretania Sitifensis (*CIL* 8.8393 = 202666, A.D. 379–80, *PLRE* I, 391), and Flavius Vivius Benedictus of Tripolitana (*IRT* 103, 571, A.D. 378, *PLRE* I, Benedictus 4).

[37] Jones (1964), 529. Cf. Ausbüttel (1988), 115. Talbert (1984), 488–91, on changes in the senate.

[38] Kuhoff (1982), 283–84, discusses the order of offices for *clarissimi, spectabiles*, and *illustres* by the end of the fourth century.

[39] Jones (1964), 530–32. See also Garnsey and Humfress (2001), 84. Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 52.6, in which he describes the procedure for Thalassius who has gotten an imperial letter for admission into the senate.

[40] The emperor Theodosius I, for instance, granted this rank to Libanius, famous orator and patron of Antioch. See Liebeschuetz (1972), 2–6, for more details on Libanius' life. Libanius himself refers to this honorary rank in *Oratio* 1.219, 30.1, and 45.1. Also in Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 16.2.8 (in which it is wrongly stated that Libanius declined the rank). See Petit (1951), 29–94.

years, which was most likely not a high price to pay for a member of the elite.[41]

By obtaining an honorary rank, an individual would acquire its prestige and privileges without having to fulfill the duties of the office. One important privilege, desired by many, was immunity from compulsory civic burdens such as paying for liturgies. At the same time, this privilege meant that fewer people were available to fulfill civic burdens, until the shortage became a real problem and caught imperial attention. Emperors then became aware of the problem, and tried to stop this development by forcing men to fulfill their municipal obligations: "all ex-counts and ex-governors who have obtained such rank by patronage shall be held bound to the burdens and compulsory public services of the municipalities."[42]

Just as the emperor bestowed an honorary office, and thus the corresponding rank, he could also take it away. A law of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius presents the following instructive example dated to 415. The Jewish patriarch Gamaliel (*PLRE I*, 385) had obtained the honorary office of Praetorian Prefect, but had been exploiting the gift, apparently assuming that with this rank he was untouchable. After hearing complaints, the emperors decided to strip him of the honor and the rank.[43] With this removal it seems that his privileges were taken away as well: he was not allowed to found new synagogues, he could not judge in cases between Christians, and in cases between Christians and Jews the governor of the province would have to judge. The case of Gamaliel is the more remarkable, because as a Jewish patriarch in an empire that had adopted Christianity as the official religion, he had been allowed this honorary rank, thereby climbing to the highest level in Roman imperial administration.

Even though individuals obtained an honorary rank, they would not be given preference over those who had held the actual office, for instance in the order of appearance for an official ceremony at the imperial court. In a law of 383, the following examples are given.

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[41] *Codex Theodosianus* 7.23.1 of 369.

[42] *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.36 of 343. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.26 of 338 to the Vicar of Africa in which the emperors Constantius and Constans encouraged him to compel many honorary ex-officials and their children to perform compulsory municipal duties.

[43] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.8.22 of 415.

If someone had been Vicar and had obtained the honorary rank of ex-prefect, he could not take precedence over someone who had actually held the prefecture.[44] In the case of a governor who had obtained the honorary rank of ex-prefect, he would still be ranked below the Vicar in the order of precedence.[45]

## *The governor's office*

"Divine and noble is that foresight which is employed in the selection of a good man. In this way alone is it possible to watch over the interests of a whole nation."[46] With these words Synesius alluded to the pressure on the emperor and Praetorian Prefect in their choice of officials, among whom a large number were governors. How were governors appointed? The reforms of Diocletian led to a new division of the empire into many more provinces, and eventually to the creation of a novel system of dioceses and prefectures.[47] By breaking up the larger provinces and creating separate commanders (*duces*) for the military in the provinces, he had diminished the status of civil governors. Likewise, many more men became governors, because more were needed.[48] Another consequence of the smaller sizes of the provinces was that governors now had fewer communities to supervise, which could mean that their "intervention could become continuous."[49]

As a rule, governors did not come from the province they governed.[50] That is not to say that governors did, indeed, not come

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[44] *Codex Theodosianus* 6.22.7 of 383.

[45] *Codex Theodosianus* 6.22.7 of 383.

[46] Synesius, *Epistula* 73, p. 131–32, θεία γὰρ αὕτη καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἡ πρόνοια, πρὸς ᾗ δαπανᾶται φροντὶς εἰς ἐκλογὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ γάρ ἐστιν ἔθνους ὁλοκλήρου πεποιῆσθαι φροντίδα.

[47] See Barnes (1982), chapters 11 and 13, for more details on this new division, with revisions in *JRA* 9 (1996), 532–52. Cf. Jones (1964), 37–76, for an explanation of Diocletian's re-organization of the provinces.

[48] Roueché (1998a), 35. Most likely members of the provincial elite served as governors as well, because a larger number of governors was needed.

[49] Liebeschuetz (1987), 466.

[50] *Codex Justinianus* 1.41 of 610, *ut nulli patriae suae administratio sine speciali permissu principis permittatur*. Μηδεὶς Αὐγουστάλιος ἢ ἀνθύπατος ἢ βικάριος ἢ κόμης Ἀνατολῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπαρχίαν γινέσθω, ἰδικῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ χηρεύων κελεύσεως. No man was allowed to become governor of his province of his birth. See also Dio Cassius 72.31.1, "A law was passed then (= A.D. 176) that no one should be governor in the province from which he originally had come." Ἐνομοθετήθη δὲ τότε μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἔθνει ὅθεν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔστιν ἄρχειν Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 8.8.4 of 386, which

from their home province.[51] In the early fifth century there is a notable example in the work of Synesius, bishop of Cyrene (*PLRE* II, Synesius 1), who wrote against the new governor of Libya Superior, Andronicus of Berenice (*PLRE* II, Andronicus 1). Synesius accused Andronicus of an illegal appointment because of his local origins.[52] Although governors were not allowed to come from their home province, often they did end up governing a province that was near or neighboring their own.

The length of the term of office for governors was not fixed. Based on the *fasti* of Africa and Egypt, Jones has drawn the conclusion that on average it was probably under two years.[53] Connections and personal recommendation of family and friends, *suffragium*, played a key role in the acquiring of governorships, because, as Kelly stated, there were no 'entrance examinations or formal qualifications' for the office.[54] Based on several letters of Libanius, Liebeschuetz has made the observation that brief governorships were a consequence of influential friends constantly bringing potential candidates to the attention of the Praetorian Prefect of the East, who, besides the emperor, could also appoint governors.[55]

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forbade imperial bureaucrats as well to serve in the province "in which he was born or where he had established his lares."

[51] Liebeschuetz (2001), 279, argued that this *Codex Justinianus* 1.41 of 610 clearly indicated that the law was ignored and governors were often natives of the area they governed. Cf. Himerius, *Oratio* 38, in which he praised Cervonius, proconsul of Achaea in 353–54 (Barnes, 1987, 216) for restoring Athens, the city in which he was raised: (38.9) "O most beautiful creature of Athena herself, whom you yourself repaid for the wonderful upbringing." ὦ καὶ αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς θρέμμα τὸ κάλιστον, ᾗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκτίνεις τὰ τροφεῖα καλῶς (Cervonius *PLRE* I, 199). Also Libanius, *Epistula* 119, 336, 799, 800, 1218 and 1422, all addressing Gaianus (*PLRE* I, Gaianus 6) who as native of Tyre became governor of Phoenicia in 363–63. In *Epistula* 799 Libanius seems to imply that the emperor has made an exception for Gaianus and has allowed him to rule his home province. Celsus (*PLRE* I, Celsus 3). See also Bradbury (2004), 169–75 on Gaianus and on Celsus.

[52] Synesius, *Epistula* 73, p. 130–30. See chapter six for more discussion of this whole controversy.

[53] Jones (1964), 380–81. For Africa (in the period between 357–417) the average was little more than a year, and for Egypt (328–73, when the prefects of Egypt were mere provincial governors) well under two years, perhaps even 18 months. Governors were not the only officials with relatively short terms of office. Praetorian Prefects, for instance, rotated every three or four years, and urban prefects every one or two years. See also Kelly, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 153.

[54] Kelly, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 172.

[55] Liebeschuetz (1973), 111–12. Libanius, *Epistula* 333, 562, 871, 959, 1224, 1474 and 1476, and *Oratio* 2.42. *Epistula* 901, Libanius to Entrechius (*PLRE* I, Entrechius 1), "He (Saturninus Secundus Salutius, PPO, *PLRE* I, Secundus 3) it

As soon as the office was taken up, new candidates were presented, as Libanius noticed: "nowadays, though, it is the man who has been able to buy office, who scurries in, and keeps turning round to check whether his successor is hard on his heels."[56] For the imperial administration a rapid turnover of governors, and officials in general, protected the position of the emperor. It created more dependence on imperial favor for the securing and holding of offices, and impeded the rise of powerful individuals in the provinces.[57] By the end of the sixth century the situation had changed again. *Novella Appendix* VII 12 (A.D. 554), *Novella* 149 (A.D. 569), and *Novella* 161 (A.D. 574) show that the appointment of provincial governors came into the hands of the provincial assemblies.[58]

The relatively short term will have created tension for a governor in fulfilling his duties, because of the "complexity of his responsibilities."[59] If time was short, it was extremely difficult to solve any long-term

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was who traversed the greater part of the civilized world with you, trusted you implicitly, and in offering you the governorship of Palestine offered you the opportunities for fame." ὃς μετὰ σοῦ τὸ πλέον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπελθὼν ἅπαντά σοι πιστεύων παραδοὺς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἄγειν λαμπρότητος ἀφορμὰς παρέδωκεν. *Epistula* 61 of Libanius indicates that the emperor's advisory council could be involved in the appointment of governors as well. See Bradbury (2004), 67–9.

[56] Libanius, *Oratio* 2.42, ἀλλὰ νῦν τρέχει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πρίασθαι δυνηθείς, μεταστρέφεται δὲ περισκοπῶν μὴ οὐ πολλοὺς ἀπέχει σταδίους ὁ διαδεξόμενος. Cf. the study by Bell (1962) of the Abinnaeus archive. Upon presenting the imperial letter with his appointment as the new commander of the *praefectus alae* at Dionysias to the count of Egypt, Abinnaeus (*PLRE* I, 1–2) found that other men had claimed his office with similar letters. He made an appeal to the emperors Constantius and Constans, and was successful. Once in office, Abinnaeus received a letter of dismissal from Valacius, *dux* of Egypt. Once again, Abinnaeus was prepared to plead his case in person before the emperor Constantius, and was reinstated in his office. Even though he was not a governor, his story illustrates the unpredictability of public office. Abinnaeus' case also raises the question of how people knew if official letters were real or perhaps even forgeries. Though no answer to the questions, *Codex Theodosianus* 9.19.3 of 367/68, in which the Emperors Valentian and Valens Augustuses wrote to Festus, proconsul of Africa, shows awareness of the potential problem: "Our Serenity has observed that the practice of imitating Our celestial imperial letters has arisen from the fact that the office of Your Gravity, in composing references of cases to the Emperor and reports to Him, uses the same kind of script (*apices*) as that which the bureaus of Our Eternity use. Wherefore, by the authority of this sanction, We command that hereafter this custom, a teacher of forgery, shall be abolished and that everything which must be written either from a province or by a judge shall be entrusted to commonly used letters (*litterae communes*), so that no person shall have the right to appropriate a copy of this style, either privately or publicly."

[57] Kelly, *CAH*² XIII, 153.

[58] See also Liebeschuetz (2001), 123.

[59] Roueché (1998a), 34.

issues, and one might not even want to try. It must be noted, however, that a short tenure was not a new feature of the Later Roman Empire. Under the Principate, governors of 'public' provinces routinely had one-year terms, and they were equally hampered in tackling long-term problems.

During the Republic and the Principate governors themselves gathered a staff, which consisted of a *quaestor*, legates, *amici* or *comites* and a group of *apparitores*, to accompany them for the period of their term.[60] In contrast, during the Dominate they were not allowed to bring their own advisors.[61] Governors now relied heavily upon local notables as a group of potential advisors and upon the members of their staff (*officium*) that was permanently employed in a province.[62] Staff members, who were familiar with the urgent issues in the province, assisted governors with their daily administrative business. Officially, just like governors, they were not allowed to be locals either, but in practice they often had local origins, despite numerous laws forbidding them to be local citizens.[63] By the beginning of the fifth century, members of an *officium* were called (*officiales*) *cohortini*, or *cohortales*, and as members of the *militia* they were officially regarded as soldiers.[64]

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[60] A governor could choose most of his staff, except for the *quaestor* who handled the financial matters in the province and would be selected by lot. The most important members of the staff were the legates. Even though a governor was allowed to choose them, ultimately he needed imperial permission to take them with him. They were mostly men of praetorian rank who where a governor's closest assistants and supported him in his *consilium*, an advisory council where they discussed problems. The *amici* or *comites* functioned as advisors, and for practical purposes a group of *apparitores* (men such as messengers, heralds, scribes, servants and lectors) accompanied a governor as well. See Burton (1973), 14–15. Also Purcell (1983), 125–73, for detailed discussion of the role of *apparitores*.

[61] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.34.3 of 423. See also Jones (1964), 503.

[62] Palme (1999), 101. See Jones (1949), 45–6, for the argument that the practice of a permanent staff in the province developed in the Principate, contrary to the old Republican custom of a governor's staff coming with him from Rome for just one specific term of office. *Digesta* 12.1.34. See the excellent article by Palme (1999) in which he gives an overview of current research, problems and perspectives of the Late Antique *officia*, with an extensive bibliography.

[63] For example, *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.22 of 336, 12.1.31 of 341. See Roueché (1998a), 35, for the argument that the mere existence of these laws probably indicates that locals in fact did serve on governors' staffs.

[64] Palme (1999), 101–102. See Kelly (*CAH*$^2$ XIII), 168, and MacMullen (1988), 148–49.

On average, an *officium*, led by the *princeps officii*, seems to have contained about one hundred officials, although numbers could vary slightly depending on the province. Every *officium* had a core group of *officiales* who were responsible for the most important duties of a governor's administration.[65] Their responsibilities fell into two main categories: jurisdiction and finance.[66] In respect to jurisdiction, six posts with the following *officiales* were significant: the *cornicularius*, the *adiutor*, the *commentariensis*, the *ab actis*, the *a libellis*, and the *a cura epistularum*.

The *cornicularius* was the secretary to the governor in court, and oversaw a fair distribution of taxes. The *adiutor* was responsible for carrying out verdicts.[67] The *commentariensis* was in charge of the public records (*commentarii*), and responsible for the condition of prisoners and their execution. The *ab actis* was in control of the records of court cases (*acta*) and had to supervise the way court cases were conducted. The *a libellis* and the *a cura epistularum* were both responsible for official correspondence.[68]

As far as finance was concerned, the main *officiales* were the *numerarii*, also called *tabularii*, who headed the financial bureaus (*scrinia*).[69] All these *officiales* drew their clerical assistance from a corps of *exceptores*.[70]

[65] *Codex Justinianus* 12.57.9 with the number of 100 officials for the *officium* of Illyricum. Also, in the *Novellae* of Justinian (for instance 24.1, 25.1, 26.2, all dating from 535) are numbers of 100 officials mentioned for the *officia* of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Paphlagonia. *Officia* of Vicars and Praetorian Prefects were considerably larger than those of governors. Normally, a Vicar would have about 300 officials (*vicariani*), and a Praetorian Prefect could have more than 2000 officials (*praetoriani*). See Bury (1922), and Jones (1964) 592–99. See MacMullen (1988), 79–80, for some more figures. Also, see Palme (1999), 100, n. 80, for more details on different calculations by modern scholars.

[66] See Jones (1964), 587–92, for a description of the *officium* of the Praetorian prefect with the same *officiales*. Also, Kelly, *CAH*[2] XIII, 167–68.

[67] Jones (1964), 593. See Palme (1999), 109. The *adiutor* was originally the assistant of the *princeps officii*, but by end of the fourth century he had his own task.

[68] Palme (1999), 103. The *Notitia Dignitatum* is our most systematic source for the different members of the *officium*, with the obvious limitation that it reflects a static situation, although several laws indicate that the information of the *Notitia Dignitatum* still applies for the periods to come.

[69] Palme (1999), 110. During the tetrarchy these *officiales* were called *tabularii*, although they tended to call themselves *notarii* (*Codex Theodosianus* 8.1.9 of 365/368) from Constantine onwards, but the *Notitia Dignitatum* calls them *tabularii* again. See the section on taxation in this chapter for more detail on the *numerarii*/*tabularii*.

[70] Kelly, *CAH*[2] XIII, 168.

Both the governor and his staff fulfilled most of the daily business in his residential and administrative headquarters, the so-called *praetorium*, that 'could include prisons, tax offices, archives and *horrea*, as well as being social centers for the *honorati* of a province.'[71] In addition, a governor would receive provincials here for court cases.

The importance of the *officium* lay in the continuity it offered to provincial government, because amidst the frequent changes of governors, *officiales* remained in place. For that reason, Liebeschuetz has argued that "the real governors of the province must have been the heads of the provincial office staffs."[72] Ultimately, governors were as effective as their staff allowed them to be.[73]

The question arises, if the office of governor had been so much devalued, why would anyone even want it, as many evidently did? One reason was financial gain, which was accompanied by the widespread phenomenon of corruption.[74] Governors often spent lavishly to purchase the office, and during their term they tried to compensate for such expenditure. Another notable motive was to acquire permanent exemption from curial duties, one of the privileges for those who had held office.[75]

Whether a man sought the governorship as the highest office possible, or as a stepping-stone to higher offices, a governorship was a desirable post for many men in the Later Roman Empire.[76] As Lendon argued, an "official position placed one in the public eye, the aristocratic, and even the imperial eye, and this permitted its

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[71] Lavan (2003b), 315–16.

[72] Liebeschuetz (1973), 112. Unfortunately, the sources do not reveal much about these *principes officii*, except perhaps that they are known for their venality (Libanius, *Oratio* 46.42, 35.8, *Epistula* 142). Roueché (1998), 34, follows the observation of Liebeschuetz. MacMullen (1988), 150, stressed that, though emperors in their laws showed outrage about extortion and bribe-taking of officials, and clung to the conventional ethic, "reality was governed by *apparitores, curiosi, tabularii, officiales* and the rest."

[73] Brown (1992), 22.

[74] Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 8.15.5 of 366/370/373, 8.15.6 of 380. Jones (1964), 393–401. Also MacMullen (1988), especially 122–70, for a discussion of corruption and the sale of offices. Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 2.42, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ εὐθὺς ὡς ἧκε ληψόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ προοίμιον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ πρότερον ἐν σκότει γιγνόμενα τολμᾶται. "He agrees straightaway that he is there for what he can get; and this is the prelude to his term, and what previously used to be done under cover, is now ventured upon in full view of all and sundry."

[75] Jones (1964), 536.

[76] See Roueché (1998a), 35, for the idea that for many eminent provincial citizens a governorship was the highest rank possible.

holder to show off his native virtues."[77] This idea ties in with a statement made earlier by Jones, that "a post is normally called a *dignitas* or *honor*, and very rarely *administratio*. To those who applied for them they were primarily distinctions to be won, not posts carrying duties."[78]

### *The governor's role in jurisdiction and taxation*[79]

"And the definition of a crime and misdemeanor is what?—the proof of it in a court of law."[80] With these words Libanius stressed the importance of the activity on which a governor would spend most of his time: fulfilling his duty of jurisdiction in court. After Diocletian's separation of governors' military and civil tasks, they now had more time than ever to devote to trials in court.[81] Whereas under the Principate governors traveled around their province on a circuit (*conventus*) to hear court cases, in the Later Roman Empire, with the territories of provinces considerably smaller and only a few (larger) cities left, governors still traveled around, but the tour might not have been as organized as earlier, because governors had to deal with only a few larger provincial cities.[82] Governors now spent most

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[77] Lendon (1997), 191–92.

[78] Jones (1964), 383.

[79] It is not my intention in this section to discuss governors' duties at great length, but to provide the basic legal background as these duties emerge from the law codes. This framework is needed for an understanding of the central issue in this book: how governors conducted themselves while fulfilling their duties and the provincials' view of it. The section on jurisdiction, in particular, does not do justice to its importance, but chapter two in its entirety is devoted to the governor as a judge.

[80] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.2, τὸ δὲ τετολμηκέναι καὶ τὸ ἠδικηκέναι τί ποτέ ἐστι; τὸ ἐξεληλέγχθαι.

[81] Corcoran (1996), 234.

[82] See Burton (1975) and Habicht (1975) for more discussion of the assizes and *conventus* regulations during the Principate. See Libanius, *Epistula* 143, in which Libanius wonders if the frequent letters of Priscianus (*PLRE* I, Priscianus 1), governor of Euphratensis in 360–61, indicate that he does not spend enough time going around his province, "Anyway, the style of your letter is not that of a governor making the rounds of cities but of a man engaged upon oratory." ὡς τό γε κάλλος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἄρχοντος ἐπίοντος πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου λόγους. See also several speeches of Himerius which he made before the proconsuls of Achaea who were clearly in Athens for a visit, because the provincial capital was Corinth. For instance, *Oratio* 31.1, in which he says that he had managed to persuade the proconsul Publius Ampelius (*PLRE* I, Ampelius 3) to extend his visit to Athens: Ἤμελλον ἄρα, ὦ παῖδες, ἤμελλον μόνος εὑρήσειν Ἑλλήνων τῆς τοῦδε

of their time in the provincial capital, where they had their residence (*praetorium*) in which there was a special chamber for holding court cases.[83]

Both in the law codes and in inscriptions, the expression '*iudex (ordinarius)*' became interchangeable with that of the general term '*praeses*'. As a rule, a governor would render verdicts in both civil and criminal cases, which would mean that possibly he might have to deal with a flood of work.[84] To relieve some of his burden, different options emerged. First, in minor cases it was not always necessary to wait for a governor, since he was allowed to appoint lesser judges, called *iudices dati* or *pedanei*, to take these cases.[85] Second, Praetorian Prefects appointed, after imperial approval, a so-called *defensor civitatis* in each provincial city.[86] This official had jurisdiction in minor civil and criminal cases, and was allowed to arrest people who were accused of major crimes and pass them on to a governor.[87] Third, by the end of the fourth century and beginning of the early fifth century, bishops in their court, the so-called *episcopalis audientia*, were allowed to hear civil cases in which their verdict was final.[88]

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φυγῆς τὰ θήρατα· χθὲς δρασμὸν ἠπείλει καὶ ἅρματα, τήμερον ὤφθη τοῖς ἐμοῖς δικτύοις ἁλώσιμος. 'Finally, I should, my children, I alone of the Greeks should find a net against his escape: yesterday he threatened with flight and a carriage, today he is seen captured by my nets.'

[83] See Haensch (1997) for the most extensive discussion of provincial capitals in the Principate.

[84] *Codex Theodosianus* 2.1.2 of 355. See also *Codex Theodosianus* 1.12.1 of 313–315.

[85] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.8 of 362. See also *Codex Justinianus* 3.3 which deals with *pedanei iudices*, and includes one edict and two letters of Diocletian on the subject. Corcoran (1996), 234.

[86] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.29.1 of 364/368, 1.29.3 of 368/370/373, 1.29.4 of 368 (?). See Jones (1964), 144–45. *Defensores* were appointed from the group of ex-provincial governors, former *agentes in rebus*, retired palatine civil servants, and retired barristers. The emperor Valentinian insisted that ex-officials of Praetorian Prefects, Vicars and governors should not become *defensores*, and decurions likewise.

[87] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.29.2 of 365 (?), 1.29.5 of 370/373, 1.29.7 of 392, 1.29.8 of 392, 9.2.5 of 409, 11.8.3 of 409. See Jones (1964), 479–80. In the *Codex Theodosianus* there are no specific indications of what 'minor' cases were, but under Justinian a value expressed in coins was connected to them. Justinian ordered that *defensores* should take cases of 50 solidi or less (*Codex Justinianus* 1.55.1), and in 535 he raised this amount to 300 solidi (*Novella* 15.3). See the study by Frakes (2001) on the *defensor civitatis* for a discussion of the office and the different stages of its development. By the end of the fourth century the office had developed into a function with many different tasks such as tax collecting duties, religious police functions, liturgical police functions, overseeing the proper use of the public post system, and the judgment in smaller cases.

[88] *Codex Justinianus* 1.4.7 of 398, *Codex Theodosianus* 1.27.2 of 408. Jones (1964),

If provincials disagreed with the verdict of a governor, they could appeal, both in civil and in criminal cases, to the Vicar or the Praetorian Prefect, from whom appeals could be sent to the emperor as *supplicatio*.[89] In general, the Praetorian Prefect and Vicar wanted a governor to try as many cases as possible before referring to them, because of the potential flood of cases.[90] If a case ended up before the emperor, he demanded the documentation of the case to be as complete as possible, so that he could render a verdict based on all the information available. Incomplete files could cause the initial judge infamy: "hence a judge shall be branded with eternal infamy, if everything which the litigant produced for documentation and as proof cannot be found placed in the records or appended thereto."[91]

Even in so-called extraordinary trials in which provincials were actually allowed to have Vicars and Praetorian Prefects try their case, the latter wanted governors to hear the case first and reach a verdict.[92] When provincials still did not like that outcome, they could then appeal to the Vicar or Praetorian Prefect. Provincials had to be cautious, though, that they did not present an unacceptable appeal, as Constantine warned all the provincials: "if a litigant has failed to resort to an allowable appeal, he must remain forever silent, and he must not impudently seek assistance from Us by supplication. If he should do so, he shall be punished by the penalty of deportation."[93]

480. Constantine had already set up this bishop's court (*Codex Theodosianus* 1.27.1 of 318), but Jones suspected that, taking the evidence into consideration, this court did not survive the rule of Julian. See the section on *Governors and higher authorities* in this chapter for more discussion on the bishop and his role in provincial jurisdiction.

[89] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.2 of 327. See 11.30.20 of 340/347/353 in which explicitly both civil and criminal cases are mentioned. See also Jones (1964), 481–82, for a discussion about the unclear evidence of appeals on cases of the provincial governors.

[90] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.1 of 325.

[91] *Codex Theodosianus* 11.30.9 of 318/319 to the Vicar, *quare perennibus inuretur iudex notis, si cuncta, quae litigatores instructionis probationisque causa recitaverint, indita actis vel subiecta non potuerint inveniri.* Throughout this work the translations of the Codex Theodosianus are based on Pharr (1952), with changes where appropriate. Cf. 11.30.11 of 321, in which Constantine explained that only complete documentation leads to a valid and trustworthy verdict from the Imperial court that will not give any reason for complaint or supplication.

[92] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.1 of 313/315, which mentions the extraordinary trials handled by the Vicar or Praetorian Prefect.

[93] *Codex Theodosianus* 11.30.17 of 331, *qui licitam provocationem omiserit, perpetuo silere debebit nec a nobis inpudens petere per supplicationem auxilium. Quod si fecerit, deportationis poena plectendus est.*

With the short term of office and the possibility of appeals to a Vicar or Praetorian Prefect, it is understandable that governors might try to stall a case and avoid rendering a judgment, so that there would not be enough time for the provincials to issue an appeal during their term. This must have happened frequently, since a law of 342 to the Praetorian Prefect Leontius (*PLRE* I, Leontius 20) addresses this issue:

> If any judge, in order to avoid appeals, should postpone the decision of civil cases under the pretext of referring a matter to the Emperor, he shall be admonished that he shall end the suits which have begun, in order that, if any person should suppose that this case ought to be appealed, it may be heard in the sacred imperial audience hall, before Your Authority or before those who judge concerning appeals.[94]

In respect to taxation, a wide range of officials was involved in the collection of provincial taxes. Because of the lack of clarity in the sources, a governor's actual role in tax collection in the Later Roman Empire is obscure, but it is evident that he was held responsible for the collection by both emperor and provincials:

> The exaction of payments shall be made by the governor of the province, at the assistance of the aforesaid office staffs, for the governor shall understand that upon him rests either discredit for indolence or glory for industry.[95]

Based on the law codes and some modern discussion, the following summary can be offered on provincial taxation. In the provinces, communities and individuals paid taxes in cash (gold and silver) and in kind. The amount of provincial taxes in cash (*largitiones tituli*) was arranged for by the bureau of the *Sacrae Largitiones*, headed by the

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[94] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.4 of 342, *moneantur iudices, qui provocatione vitantes sub praetextu relationis different causas civiles, coepta negotia terminare, ut, si quis appellandum crediderit, in auditorio sacro aput auctoritatem tuam vel eos, qui de appellationibus iudicant, negotium audiatur.* Cf. 11.30.31 of 363, about the penalties for governors "with their wicked consciences" (*prava conscientia*) who try to suppress or delay cases to be brought before emperors.

[95] *Codex Theodosianus* 8.8.5 of 395, *remota exigentium permixtione per rectorem provinciae instantibus officiis memoratis exactionem celebrari decernimus, qui ad se intellegit vel desidiae invidiam vel industriae gloriam pertinere.* Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 11.7.8 of 355, "the duty of tax collection in the provinces, which is sustained throughout Africa by the governors, the prefects of the *annona*, and the fiscal representatives, must not be usurped by the higher judges (i.e. Vicars and Praetorian Prefects), but this duty must be fulfilled only by those persons upon whom the responsibility is imposed for tax collection."

*Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, whereas the office of the Praetorian Prefect (in this capacity called *fiscalis arca*) assessed the quantities for the taxes in kind.[96] Even though the emperor held these two bureaus accountable for the successful collection of the taxes, the *Comes* and the Praetorian Prefect delegated the duties of the collection to governors, who in their turn handed down the actual collection to local communities.

The taxes in kind were levies of commodities needed by the army and officials in the civil service (such as the governor and his *officium*).[97] The Praetorian Prefect calculated the rates of these levies for every fiscal unit (community) in the various products required.[98] The rates could vary from diocese to diocese, from province to province, and even from city to city, depending on the type of local produce and the fertility of the land. Once the emperor approved of the rates, the Praetorian Prefect circulated the figures to the Vicars and governors, who distributed them to the provincial communities.

Governors supervised the collection to make sure that it was done according to imperial rulings and without terrorizing and oppressing provincials.[99] A law from 382, addressing the *rectores* of all provinces, ordered that governors had to have in their *officium* two accountants—called *numerarii* or *tabularii*—one responsible for the Praetorian Prefect's *fiscalis arca*, and one for the *largitiones tituli* of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, so that the two bureaus could directly turn to these two permanent officials in a governor's *officium* for concerns about tax collection.[100] Once a governor was notified about the annual level of tax (*indictio*), the *numerarii/tabularii* distributed the numbers to

[96] Jones (1964), 427–28. See Delmaire (1989), 17, for a schematic overview of the terminology of the different bureaus responsible for taxes between the beginning of the fourth century and the beginning of the sixth century.

[97] Goffart (1974), 31.

[98] Jones (1964), 453 and 456.

[99] See Libanius, *Oratio* 45.24, "And it is quite ridiculous for a governor, who does not make a personal tour and arrest of debtors, to make mention of revenue collection to excuse himself. We all know the agents by whom such jobs are done. The governor's task is to tell what needs doing, to commend the one who does it and to flog the one who does not." πάντων δὲ ἀλογώτατον εἰσπράξεων εἰς ἀπολογίαν μεμνῆσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν οὐκ αὐτὸν περιιόντα καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων λαμβανόμενον. ἴσμεν γὰρ δι᾽ ὧν σοι τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττεται, τοῦ δὲ ἄρχοντός ἐστιν εἰπεῖν τε ὃ δεῖ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ποιήσαντα ἐπαινέσαι καὶ τὸν μὴ ποιήσαντα πλῆξαι.

[100] *Codex Theodosianus* 8.1.12 of 365. Jones (1964), 434, Roueché (1998), 34, and Palme (1999), 110. See Jones (1949), 47, n. 99, for an explanation of the terminology of *tabularii* and *numerarii*.

the individual communities, and at the end of the year they had to balance the account.

Apart from these permanent officials, both the bureau of the *Sacrae Largitiones* and the office of the Praetorian Prefect sent officials to inspect the efficiency of a governor and his staff in the collection of taxes. The officials from the *Sacrae Largitiones* were called *palatini*,[101] and those from the Praetorian Prefect *canonicarii*, *tractatores*, or *compulsores*.[102] These officials were notorious for their corruption, and were forbidden to interfere in the governor's business, because as Jones has put it, they were in the province only to "supervise and stimulate the activity of the governor and his *officium*."[103] *Palatini*, however, were allowed to put pressure on governors, and even detain them after their term of office if they had not been able to exact the due payments. As a law from 385 prescribed, "the palatines in great numbers shall always assist the judges ordinary as monitors in exacting payments of the largess accounts; then, if any person should be found to be too remiss in this duty, each judge, after his term of office is completed, shall be detained by the palatines within the province which was administered by him, until he exacts payment of that which is due."[104]

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[101] Delmaire (1989), 125–26, briefly discusses the problems posed by the terminology. In the narrow sense of the word, a *palatinus* was used to "désigner les employés des comtes financiers," but in a broader sense palatine officials were part of the *militia palatina*. I use *palatinus* in the narrow sense of the word.

[102] Jones (1964), 450.

[103] Jones (1964), 434. See also Delmaire (1989), 161–64, for a discussion of the palatines' activities related to governors and tax collection.

[104] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.10.2 of 385, *Palatini monitores frequentissimi ad profligandos largitionales titulos iudicibus ordinariis semper adsistant, deinde, si alicuius remissior super hoc fuerit cura detecta, tamdiu unusquisque iudex a palatines intra provinciam a se administratam peracto iam honore teneatur, quamdiu per eum id quod debitum fuerit exigatur*. Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius Augustuses to Trifolius, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.10.6 of 401, the emperors Arcadius and Honorius to Anthemius, the Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses, "in the exaction of largess accounts, the insistence of the palatines shall exert pressure upon the judges, according to the ancient custom. For they appear to be sent out for this purpose only, that they may threaten the governors by their vigilance." *in exationibus largitionalium titulorum iuxta veterem consuetudinem palatinorum iudicibus incumbat instantia: ad hoc enim tantum videntur emitti, ut rectoribus vigilanter immineant*. One difficulty in interpretation arises, however, from *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.13 of 400, of he same emperors Arcadius and Honorius to Messala, Praetorian Prefect, who order that palatines should actually be kept away from the provinces, "Previously we ordered the palatines to be barred from the provinces, since all collections of revenues must be the concern of the diligence of Your Magnificence and the duty of the Respectable vicars

Taxes, both in cash and in kind, were actually collected by curial officers, called *procuratores* (ἐπιμεληταί), or *susceptores* (ἀποδεκταί, ὑποδεκταί), who were elected by the city councils.[105] These officers worked in groups, each being in charge of an individual item, for instance meat, wine, or barley. They did not collect these items in person from the farmers who owed taxes in kind, but villages had their own internal collectors. Local communities had considerable freedom in how they raised taxes, and were by no means "passive instruments within the general empire-wide tax scheme."[106]

Care for the poor is a recurring theme in laws on taxation. Governors were urged to be sensitive to the needs of the poor, and make sure that they were not oppressed, as an edict of 324/5 indicated:

> Whenever it is necessary for a tax assessment to be made, the assessment of each municipality shall be in accordance with the plans and regulations of the governor, so that the multitude of the lower classes may not be subjected to the wantonness and subordinated to the interests of the more powerful and thus suffer the infliction of grave and iniquitous outrages.[107]

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and likewise of the judges ordinary. Now, in confirmation of the aforesaid regulations, We decree that if any palatine from the office of the Illustrious count of the sacred imperial largesses is found throughout the provinces who dares to vindicate to himself the collection of revenues, he shall be weighted down with chains and dispatched for a hearing before the Illustrious count of the sacred imperial treasury or, if he is qualified, he shall be vindicated to a municipal council." *iam dudum e provinciis arceri iussimus palatinos, cum omnis exactio ad diligentiam magnificentiae tuae et virorum spectabilium vicariorum nec non et ordinariorum iudicum sollicitudinem debeat pertinere: et nunc eadem confirmantes decernimus, ut, si quis palatinus ex officio inlustris comitis sacrarum largitionum per provincias repertus fuerit, qui exactionem sibi audeat vindicare, ad audientiam v(iri) i(nlustris) comitis sacri aerarii ferro obrutus derigatur vel si est idoneus, curiae vindicetur.* See Honoré (1986), 163–64, for some discussion on the cause of these types of inconsistencies in the laws.

[105] *Codex Justinianus* 10.72.8. See also Jones (1964), 456. Not only were individual curial collectors liable for the full amount of tax, but also the council, which had chosen them, would have to make up for the difference, in case the individual collector failed to collect all the taxes and could not pay for them from his own pocket.

[106] Goffart (1974), 11, on taxation in the early Empire, but this statement can also be applied to the Later Roman Empire, because local communities were responsible for the actual collection. Cf. Goffart (1974), 17, "The utilization of local communities as the intermediaries in provincial taxation was not just a reform but rather the long-term policy of the early Empire." Durliat (1990) has used these basic principles of Goffart to develop his own model of late Roman civic finance, whereas Liebeschuetz (1997) strongly disagreed with the theories of both Durliat and Goffart.

[107] *Codex Theodosianus* 11.16.3 of 324/325, *quotienscumque aliquam adscribtionem fieri necesse est, rectorem consiliis et dispositione uniuscuiusque civitatis fiat adscribtio, ne libidini et commodo potiorum multitudo mediocrium subiecta gravibus et iniquissimis adficiatur iniuriis.* Cf.

If governors extorted from the poor, they would be punished.[108] The frequency of these laws could be an indication of the fact that in practice poor provincials were quite often oppressed and mistreated. On the other hand, however, from an ideological point of view, for an emperor to care for the poor was a noble declaration and needs to be seen perhaps more as an essential part of the imperial rhetoric towards the subjects.

With the collection essentially done at the local level, governors' main role was one of reaction rather than action. When problems occurred, such as tax fraud or extortion, they were responsible for solving them, most likely in court.[109] In the end, even if governors did not actually collect taxes, they were there to compel provincials to pay their taxes, as a law from 429 clearly stated:

> All this provision of Ours looks to the advantage of the provincials, but lest they should be drawn away from their loyal devotion by an excessive security, and lest their desire to pay their taxes should cease if necessity should be removed, they shall pay that which is payable to Our treasury in the following manner, namely, that under all conditions, before the year of the indiction has elapsed, the landholders, grateful for Our benefits, shall pay their annual tribute in full. But if any taxpayer should wish to defer his payments to a later date, the governor of the province shall compel him with all the severity of exaction.[110]

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*Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.173 of 410 for another reference of the governor's involvement in the assessment. Also, cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 11.16.4 of 328 in which there is the same type of concern for the poor in the assessment of extraordinary public services, "and therefore the governors of the provinces shall be admonished that they duly perform this assessment, and with their one hand they shall write out and in ink annex the names of the tax payers. The following general rule shall be observed, namely, that the payments to be made shall first be rendered by the more powerful and then by the middle class and the lowest classes. If a farmer should be urgently occupied in farm work or in gathering his harvest, he shall never be dragged off to the performance of extraordinary burdens, since it is a matter of prudence to satisfy such necessities at the opportune season." *ideoque rectores provinciarum monendi sunt, ut eam distributionem ipsi celebrent manuque propria perscribant adque encauto nomina adnectant, ea forma servata, ut primo a potioribus, dein mediocribus adque infimis quae sunt danda praestentur. Neque umquam sationibus vel colligendis frugibus insistens agricola ad extraordinaria onera trahatur, cum providentiae sit opportuno tempore his necessitatibus satisfacere.*

[108] *Codex Theodosianus* 8.11.1 of 364. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.173 of 409/410.

[109] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.6 of 372.

[110] *Codex Theodosianus* 11.1.35 of 429, *ne provinciales, ad quorum utilitates spectat omnis haec nostra provisio, a devotione revocet nimia securitas et solvendi voluntas cesset necessitate submota, ea, quae nostro aerario pensitantur, hac ratione dissolvent, ut omni modo, antequam elabatur*

There is a notable difference between the laws on taxation and governors' involvement, and the reality of provincials' perception of this involvement. From the laws, one could argue that governors were ultimately responsible and should be held accountable by both emperors and provincials. In practice, with so many other officials involved more visibly, and governors not actually calculating what the tax amounts were, it seems that provincials turned either to lower officials who were directly collecting taxes or to higher officials who could actually change taxes. Precisely because of this possibility to 'marginalize themselves in the process of imposing and collecting imperial taxes', Van Dam argued that governors were able to be on good terms with members of the local elites as illustrated by the correspondence of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus.[111]

### *Governors and higher authorities*

Governors were part of a larger network of imperial officials and they had to be careful not to offend higher officials, especially the emperor. Governors had to possess the ability to cooperate and to understand their own possible power and influence. In this section the main higher authorities who governors encountered are briefly discussed: the emperor, Praetorian Prefects, Vicars and bishops.

The emperor had highest authority in the empire and was the undisputed leader of the Roman world. He was the principal source of legislation and held the highest judicial authority over all his citizens. Centralization—one of the main characteristics of Late Roman administration—made emperors the "focus of all government activities."[112] Those who wanted to pursue political offices had to be in close proximity to the emperor, because they depended on his goodwill for appointments and promotions.[113] Although there were several indicators of possible advancement into higher offices, such as skills, seniority, connections, or payment of money, the only secure

*indictio, annua tributa gratus beneficiis nostris possessor exsolvat. Si quis vero solutionem voluerit in tempora longiora differre, hunc provinciae rector omni exactionis acerbitate conpellat.*

[111] See Van Dam (2002), 88.

[112] Kelly, *CAH*[2] XIII, 138, and cf. also 161.

[113] Kelly, *CAH*[2] XIII, 173. Cf. *Codex Justinianus* 12.19.7 of 444 in which the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian II specify a broad range of possibilities for advancement into offices.

guarantee, as Kelly argued, was imperial favor.[114] The emperor could help an ambitious man to proceed in offices, whereas imperial disapproval could destroy a man's career.[115] In addition, the emperor alone could remove a governor from office, even though provincial complaints could in the first instance be directed to the Praetorian Prefect.[116] Initial imperial favor did not guarantee continuous support.[117]

In practice, with such a vast empire, there was a limit to effective control by the emperor.[118] Ultimately, though, the emperor stood at the top of the pyramid, and governors and all other officials had to answer to him for their actions.

The Praetorian Prefect, with the rank of *illustris*, was the most powerful civil official. He stood directly under the emperor and had the overall responsibility in the general administration of the empire.[119] Provincial government, as a consequence, fell under his general responsibility as well, and the appointment of governors was one of his duties.[120]

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[114] Kelly, *CAH*[2] XIII, 151. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 28.3.9, for an example of a promotion and demotion at the imperial court of Valentinian: *ita spectatissime ante dictis rebus aliisque administratis similibus, ad comitatum accitus, tripudiantesque relinquens provincias, ut Furius Camillus vel Cursor Papirius, victoriis crebris et salutaribus erat insignis. Et favore omnium ad usque fretum deductus, leni vento transgressus, venit ad commilitium principis, cumque gaudio susceptus et laudibus, in locum Iovini ut lenti successit, qui equorum copias tuebatur.* "After his brilliant management of the above mentioned matters and other similar ones, he (Theodosius) was recalled to the court, leaving the provinces dancing for joy. Like Furius Camillus or Papirius Cursor he had distinguished himself by many helpful victories. Such was his popularity that he was escorted by a large crowd to the straits, where he crossed with a light wind. He entered the emperor's headquarters and was received with joy and warm praise, and promoted to the command of the cavalry in place of Jovinus, who was thought to be slack."

[115] See, for example, *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.6 of 331 (= *Codex Justinianus* 1.40.3) in which Constantine ordered that written records of provincials' acclamations were to be sent to the emperor for review.

[116] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.14.2 of 395, "the augustal prefect shall have the power to investigate the shameful misdeeds of the judges ordinary who are under him and to refer the cases to Us, but he shall not have the power to remove or punish them." *praefectus augustalis ordinariorum sub se iudicum examinandi flagitia ac super his referendi, non amovendi vel puniendi habeat potestatem.*

[117] Brown (1992), 24.

[118] Kelly, *CAH*[2] XIII, 157.

[119] Jones (1964), 370.

[120] *Codex Justinianus* 9.27.6 of 439 speaks of provincial governors being appointed on the recommendation of the Praetorian Prefect of the East. See Jones (1964), 391–92, and Liebeschuetz (1973), 111. Based on some of the letters of Libanius (for instance *Epistula* 871, in which he praises the Praetorian Prefect Tatianus for his choice of good governors), Liebeschuetz implied that potential governors would be brought to the Praetorian Prefect's attention by influential friends.

The Praetorian Prefect was an intermediary between the emperor, and the other officials and subjects of the empire. Emperors often addressed laws for the provinces to the Praetorian Prefect, who then had to circulate them to the governors.[121] He was also the highest judge of appeal in the empire after the Emperor, and was the one to decide if petitions were worth bringing to the emperor's attention. In the case of most provincial petitions, the governor listened to them first to make sure that the Praetorian Prefect would not have to hear all the trivial matters that governors were capable of dealing with themselves, but the Praetorian Prefect would make the final decision on the important requests.[122]

Special petitions resulting from extraordinary meetings of provincial councils could only be handled by the Praetorian Prefect.[123] However, he would not make a decision, because that was the privilege of the emperor alone.

When provincials were upset with a governor's rulings in court, especially when he was not open for appeals, they could ask for help from the Praetorian Prefect, who could refer the matter to the emperor if he thought the complaint was serious enough.[124] If it turned out that the governor had treated provincials with contempt or had intimidated them by terror, especially in cases of appeals to him, he would be 'fittingly' punished, as Constantine reminded the provincials in a law he sent to his Praetorian Prefect in 325:

> By edict We remind all provincials that, if they have been treated with contempt when appealing to their own governors, they shall have the right to appeal to your Gravity, so that, if it should appear that this mistreatment occurred by the fault or negligence of the governors, Your Gravity shall immediately refer the matter to Our Wisdom, in order that it may be possible for such governors to be fittingly punished.[125]

By the same token, if the provincials turned out to be in the wrong, they could expect to be severely punished themselves.[126]

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[121] Jones (1964), 372.

[122] *Codex Theodosianus* 12.12.3 of 364.

[123] *Codex Theodosianus* 12.12.12, of 392.

[124] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.1 of 325, 1.5.2 of 327 (?).

[125] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.1 of 325, *edicto omnes provinciales monemus, ut, si interpellantes proprios praesides contempti fuerint, gravitatem tuam interpellent, ut, si id culpa vel neglegentia praesidum admissum esse constiterit, ilico ad scientiam nostram referat gravitas tua, quo possint congrue coerceri*. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.2 of 327 (?), 1.5.3 of 331.

[126] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.3 of 331. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 11.34.2 of 355.

The Vicar can be regarded as an intermediary between the governor and the Praetorian Prefect. In respect to his rank, in the third and early fourth century the Vicar was a *vir clarissimus*—although originally he had come from the equestrian order—, but by the end of the fourth century with the emergence of the three ranks within the senatorial order he was promoted and had become *spectabilis*.

The Vicar was responsible for the supervision of all the provinces in his diocese, for which he was held accountable by the Praetorian Prefect.[127] Because his task was similar to that of the Praetorian Prefect, but on a smaller scale, he could act as a substitute for the Praetorian Prefect.[128]

Based on the law codes, the following can be said about the position and duties of the Vicar. His duties included jurisdiction,[129] protection of the state religion,[130] protection against corruption of the governors' staff,[131] control of the *cursus publicus*,[132] and taxation.[133] He also had to detect exploitation of privileges and negligence of municipal obligations.[134]

Apart from being an intermediary between governor and Praetorian Prefect, the Vicar kept a close watch on the behavior of a governor. Even though governors were in charge of their own provinces, the Vicar could come on an inspection tour, during which he was encouraged to observe a governor's competence and act on it, as the following law from 372 on the judgment of governors in tax accounts illustrates:

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[127] Schneider on *vicarius* in *RE* VIIIa 2, 2015–53.

[128] Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.7 of 377. Cf. also *Codex Theodosianus* 8.5.6 of 354, issued to Magnus, 'Acting' Vicar of the Praetorian Prefect. "*Magno agenti vicariam praefecturam*." See also Noethlichs (1982) for an discussion of the development of the office of Vicar, in which he argues that originally Vicars were not so much intermediaries as well as deputies of the Praetorian Prefects.

[129] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.1 of 325, 1.16.1 of 313/315.

[130] See for example *Codex Theodosianus* 9.38.6 of 381, 9.38.7 of 384, 16.2.29 of 395, 16.5.1 of 326 (= *Codex Justinianus* 1.5.1), 16.6.2 of 377 (= *Codex Justinianus* 1.6.1).

[131] *Codex Theodosianus* 8.15.2 of 334, 8.10.2 of 344 (= *Codex Justinianus* 12.61.2).

[132] *Codex Theodosianus* 8.5.6 of 354, 8.5.31 of 370, 8.5.42 of 382.

[133] See for more rulings and provisions, *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.17 of 400/401, 11.1.10 of 365, 11.7.2 of 319, 11.7.9 of 364, 11.7.12 of 383, 11.10.2 of 370/376, 12.6.9 of 365/368.

[134] See for instance *Codex Theodosianus* 1.28.2 of 364 (senators), 6.28.8 of 435 (*agentes in rebus*), 13.3.12 of 379 (*archiatri*), *Codex Justinianus* 10.48.7 (weavers and painters in imperial service). Obligations for decurions, *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.12 of 325, 12.1.26 of 338, 12.1.44–46 of 358, 12.1.69 of 365/368/370/373, 12.1.77 of 372, 12.1.124 of 392, 12.1.162 of 399.

> However, as soon as Your Sincerity has entered a province, you shall inquire carefully how much diligence and efficiency the judge ordinary has bestowed upon the duties enjoined upon him. When anyone of them has been discovered who has not fully conducted an investigation and attended to the satisfaction of those accounts concerning which he has been instructed, it shall be fitting that he undergo a severe judgment, suitable as a warning for his neglect of the public welfare.[135]

The Vicar also functioned as an intermediary between governor and emperor. He was expected to send the reports of cases (*relationes*) judged by the governors to the emperor.[136] If governors wanted to refer a case to the emperor, they had to refer the matter first to the Vicar, who would take notice of it and come up with his solution, and then send these two to the emperor so that the emperor could review the case as a whole.[137]

The Vicar could also help the governor in fulfilling some of his duties like taxation. A law of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius of A.D. 400 ordered that the Vicar was to exact the delinquent taxes (taxes of the previous year), and the governor was to exact the current tribute.[138]

The emergence and acceptance of Christianity as a leading religion gave rise to an important role for bishops in provincial communities.[139] Their appearance as influential and leading members in society had major consequences for the position of governors.[140] Bishops interfered with governors' business; inevitably the two clashed. No longer did provincials turn exclusively to governors for judgment in court cases, problems with taxation or bestowal of benefactions. In

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[135] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.6 of 372, *ubi primum tamen sinceritas tua provinciam introierit, requirat attente, quam ordinarius iudex iniunctis rebus diligentiam efficaciamque detulerit: qui eorum titulorum, de quibus instructus est, non ad plenum vel discussionem egisse vel satisfactionem deprehenditur curasse, fas erit eum pro neglectu utilitatis publicae dignam commonitionis subire censuram.* Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.17 of 400.

[136] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.2 of 357, *relationes iudicum, qui provincias regunt, susceptas tua sublimitas nobis celeriter intimare debebit.* "Your Sublimity shall receive and quickly make known to Us the reports of cases to Us by the judges who govern the provinces." Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.4 of 362, in which the emperor Julian urges the Praetorian Prefect that he needs to inform governors of the fact that "Vicars must participate in all things about which the governors suppose that reference ought to be made to Us and to your knowledge." *ut cunctas de rebus, de quibus ad nos et ad vestram scientiam crediderint referendum, vicarios esse participandos sciant.*

[137] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.3 of 352/353/357.

[138] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.15 of 400.

[139] Jones (1964), 165.

[140] Hunt, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 269.

many respects bishops were in an ideal position to take over the role and responsibilities of governors. It is not my intention to discuss at great length the position and activities of bishops, but to point out briefly here in what ways bishops could interfere with governors' duties.[141] Also, where appropriate in the different chapters, I present relevant cases when bishops and governors interacted in ways that affected the relationship of provincials and governors.

Church organization and structure clearly corresponded with the existing secular institutions and divisions into provinces and dioceses.[142] The city, for instance, functioned as the basic unit of the organization and had its own bishop and clergy. As the cities were part of a larger network that made up a province, these bishoprics also fell within the boundaries of the province.[143] Every province had a leading bishop, the metropolitan, who resided in the most important city, which was most often the secular capital of the province and therefore also the headquarters of the governor.[144] With this type of overlapping structure Liebeschuetz compared the bishop to a secular official, when he argued that "the urban bishop was as it were an official of a second Empire-wide administration, with comparable access to the head of state."[145]

Bishops could undermine a governor's position in three ways.[146] First, the court of the bishop, the so-called *episcopalis audientia*, was acknowledged by the imperial government as an official judicial court in which a bishop's verdict in civil cases was legally valid and had equal authority as a governor's judgment.[147] The imperial validation combined with the ideology that bishops by virtue of their calling were just and fair, made their courts attractive settings to have a case heard.[148] In a law of 408, the emperors Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius proclaimed that a bishop's verdict could not be appealed,

[141] For a more extensive discussion of the argument that bishops take over the role of governors in the Later Roman period see the article by Slootjes (2006).

[142] Liebeschuetz (2001), 139.

[143] Hunt, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 242.

[144] Hunt, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 244.

[145] Liebeschuetz (2001), 139.

[146] Hunt, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 271.

[147] *Codex Justinianus* 1.4.7 of 398, (Arcadius), *Codex Theodosianus* 1.27.1 of 318 (Honorius). Jones (1964), 480. Constantine had already set up this bishop's court (*Codex Theodosianus* 1.27.1 of 318), but based on the evidence Jones suspected that this court did not survive the rule of Julian. Liebeschuetz (2001), 139–40.

[148] Liebeschuetz (2001), 151.

similar to that of the Praetorian Prefect, which meant that a bishop's judgment was more final than a governor's, because provincials could appeal the latter.[149]

Second, the main difference between a governor's appointment and that of a bishop was the length of term of office. Governors had a relatively short term, whereas bishops with their office for life became a permanent presence in provincial communities. It is understandable that provincials, especially in the case of long-term problems, turned to a bishop rather than to a governor for a solution. Of course, there are also advantages to having officials rotate relatively often; if provincials had a 'bad' governor, they did not have to wait long for his replacement, whereas with a bishop who did not meet expectations, it could take many years, if not decades, before a new bishop was installed.

Third, under Justinian bishops were encouraged to supervise governors and bring complaints against them to the emperor's attention.[150] In addition, provincials were invited to use a bishop's court as a court of appeal when they were discontent with a governor's verdict.[151] Also, upon entering their province, governors now had to swear an oath in the presence of the metropolitan bishop and the leading citizens.[152]

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[149] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.27.2 of 408. See also Hunt, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 272. In his *Novella* 96 of 539 Justinian even gives the impression that the bishop's court, and not the Praetorian Prefect's, was the first instance of appeal from the governor's judgment. Liebeschuetz (2001), 139–140.

[150] *Novella* 1, 8.14 and 86.

[151] *Novella* 86.

[152] Liebeschuetz (2001), 151 and 154, "It may be that Justinian's legislation assigning duties to bishops involved an element of wishful thinking. There evidently was a vacuum of leadership in the cities. The bishop was in many ways ideally placed to fill it—as indeed bishops eventually did in the much reduced cities of the West. But eastern bishops did not take the road towards secular lordship." Liebeschuetz even takes his argument a step further when he claims that bishops were past their peak when Justinian issued these laws (155).

## CHAPTER TWO

# THE GOVERNOR AS JUDGE: COMPETENCE VERSUS CORRUPTION

> Under justice, you should include humanity to subjects, gentleness of character and approachability, integrity and incorruptibility in matters of justice, freedom from partiality and from prejudice in giving judicial decisions, equal treatment of rich and poor, encouragement of city development.[1]

If provincials were to follow the advice of Menander Rhetor, then they would use similar words to praise their governor as an ideal judge, someone who was capable, approachable, incorruptible and fair in his judicial decisions. Unfortunately, for provincials, reality was often far removed from this ideal image, though governors should not be blamed entirely for a less than perfect reality, as this chapter illustrates.

What did provincials expect from their governor as judge? And from his point of view, what qualities did he need to fulfill the duty of jurisdiction, and what obstacles did he encounter? Provincial jurisdiction was a matter not only of how competent the governor was in dealing with the law, but also of how well he could endure the pressure of the different parties in a court case to give them the verdict they wanted and for which they might be willing to pay. What incentive would he actually have to be fair in court?

[1] Menander Rhetor, 416, ἐν δὲ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ πάλιν ἐρεῖς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ ἥμερον τοῦ τρόπου, τὸ ὁμιλητικὸν πρὸς τοὺς προσιόντας, τὸ καθαρὸν ἐν ταῖς δίκαις καὶ ἀδωροδόκητον, τὸ μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδὲ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν κρίνειν, τὰς δίκας, τὸ μὴ προτιμᾶν τοὺς εὐπόρους τῶν ἀδυνάτων, τὸ πόλεις ἐγείρειν. This advice was part of Menander's prescriptions for a speech of praise (ὁ προσφωνητικὸς λόγος). According to Roueché (1998a), 33, the 'encouragement of city development' would fall under the governor's justice, because he would undertake these type of projects, "not out of generosity, but with the city's own funds," so that the city would need his justice in using these funds.

*Governors' competence in law*

Jurisdiction was a large part of governors' duties, though few governors were chosen for their legal learning; instead, their wealth and rank played a far more important role in their appointment.[2] As members of the higher social classes, most governors would have enjoyed some education—most likely grammar, philosophy and, what was seen as the most important for political office, rhetoric—at schools such as that of Libanius in Antioch.[3] Law was not among the subjects dealt with extensively, though the increasing popularity of law in the East led to the foundation of what became the chief center of legal training in the East, Berytus.[4] Most governors will not have studied at a law school nor have had much experience with law. On the other hand, evidence points to many ex-barristers pursuing a career in political life, and their experience would have been useful.[5]

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[2] Jones (1964), 470 and 500.

[3] See for instance, Libanius, *Epistula* 379 sent to Calycius, son-in-law of the governor of Arabia, Flavius Antonius Hierocles (*PLRE* I, Hierocles 3), in which Libanius praises the advantage of rhetoric and gives the example of Hierocles and his father-in-law, both successful in political office, because "it was by their capacity for eloquence that they have reached the position they now hold." λέγειν γὰρ δυνηθέντες εἰς τοῦθ' ἧκον, ἐν ᾧπέρ εἰσι. See also the cases of Marcianus (*PLRE* I, Marcianus 7) governor of Syria in 364, *Epistula* 1282; Andronicus (*PLRE* I, Andronicus 3) governor of Phoenicia, *Epistula* 175; Entrechius (*PLRE* I, Entrechius 1) governor of Pisidia 362–64, *Epistula* 901. Libanius claimed that all these men also owed their office to eloquence and rhetoric. According to Brown (1976), 38, the ideal of a "cultivated governor, carefully groomed product of Greek *paideia*," became common in the political life of the Eastern Empire.

[4] Clarke (1971), 116. The earliest mention of Berytus (= modern Beirut) as a center for legal training was in the early third century by Gregory Thaumaturgus, *In Originem Oratio* 5 (*PG* 10.1065–68). Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 62.21–23, 2.44, 48.22, *Epistula* 1170. Libanius complained about the popularity of legal study in Berytus, because it took away students, especially the wealthy and wellborn, from his own discipline rhetoric: Liebeschuetz (1972), 242, 246. The increasing popularity of Latin and legal studies, according to Liebeschuetz, was caused by the government's policy to prefer men with knowledge of Latin and Roman law for public and political office. Anatolius (*PLRE* I, Anatolius 3) was perhaps lucky in that he was a native of Berytus, where he received legal training, before he went to Rome (Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 10.6.1–2, Libanius, *Epistula* 339, 438). After several governorships and a vicariate, he became Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum (*Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.38 addressed to him). See Collinet (1925) for an extensive study on Beirut as a center of law, and Jones Hall (2004) for the most recent survey of Beirut in Late Antiquity.

[5] Jones (1964), 500–501, 512. According to Jones, "the bar was undoubtedly throughout the period of the later empire the principal channel whereby men of modest origins could rise to the highest positions in the state." Examples of barristers who became governors are, for instance, found in Libanius' correspondence:

If, however, one wants to argue that in general governors were not well prepared for the more specialist duties of their governorship such as jurisdiction, one should keep in mind, that governors were not exceptional in this lack of experience. Roman officials in general, including the emperor, were often not well trained for their responsibilities, but apart from gaining experience while fulfilling certain duties, they could also rely on the members of their staff and advisory council.[6]

Perhaps mostly 'inexperienced' in law, though ultimately responsible for the final verdict in a court case, governors were assisted in court by assessors and judicial advisors; often they based decisions on their advice, as Harries has argued: "judges had no formal training and relied heavily on the legal expertise of their consilium."[7] Contemporaries themselves were aware of the apparent lack of legal knowledge and experience of judges, which astonished the Persians. Ammianus Marcellinus stated that Persian judges were experienced lawyers, who without the need of advisers themselves had utter contempt for the Romans who had legal experts behind the unlearned (*indoctus*) judge.[8] Of course, this Persian observation perfectly fits the recurring theme of Roman moral decline throughout Ammianus' work.

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Flavius Antonius Hierocles (*PLRE* I, Hierocles 3) became governor of Arabia, and later of Syria (*Epistula* 371, 379, 466); Domnio (*PLRE* I, Domnio 2) was *advocatus fisci* and became proconsul of Asia (*Epistula* 861, 862).

[6] See Crook (1975) for a study on the *Consilium Principis*.

[7] Harries (1999), 102. For centuries, this type of advice had been part of Roman tradition, not only for governors in the Republic and the Principate, but also for emperors who always had an advisory *consilium*. See also Jones (1964), 500–501. Every magistrate with judicial duties had these advisors and assessors. The office of assessor offered opportunities for individuals to climb socially and obtain the office of governor with more possibilities to rise to even higher office. Tatianus (*PLRE* I, Tatianus 5) fulfilled the office of assessor several times before become governor himself: *ILS* 8844. Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 33.4, in which he speaks negatively about Tisamenus being an assessor before he ever became governor and about his apparent lack in experience, "he had never even been a member of the legal profession: there is no need of experience in this sphere, I suppose, for the military commander has to sit, not for judicial enquiries, but for corporal punishment, and the consequence is that such an assessor's job is to share in his excesses, and especially in his drinking." οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν συνδίκων τάξει πώποτε ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ' οὐδέν, οἶμαι, δεῖ τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας ἐνταῦθα, καθῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπ' ἐξετάσει δικῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πληγαῖς τὸν στρατηγόν, ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι τῷ τοιούτῳ παρέδρῳ κοινωνίαν τρυφῆς καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ποτοῦ.

[8] Ammianus Marcellinus, 23.6.82, *ad iudicandum autem usu rerum spectati destinantur et integri, parum alienis consiliis indigentes, unde nostram consuetudinem rident, quae interdum*

Though most governors would not have had extensive legal training, they were still expected to know the law.[9] If ignorance of law was no defense or excuse for an ordinary citizen,[10] then surely it was no excuse for governors who were supposed to render verdicts:

> it is not to be doubted that, when litigants of those attending on a case fail to mention something, it is the judge's role to add and bring forward that which he knows is in accord with statutes and public law.[11]

Emperors expected governors to deal with all provincial cases that fell under their responsibility.[12] That might not deter provincials from attempting to bypass a governor's court and sending a petition for a case directly to the emperor. Perhaps they hoped that the emperor would regard their case as special and judge it himself, or that his involvement would put extra pressure on a governor, even if the emperor would just return the case to him for the final verdict. Provincials were, so to speak, looking for "positive personal advantage against their opponents, an advantage that a favorable imperial reply was supposed to give, effectively ensuring a won case."[13] The emperor might not give in to this type of manipulation; he could simply return the petition without even a hint of his opinion as the following imperial answer to a petition demonstrates: "it is unnecessary to ask us for what you seek, that the heirs of the man who made the sale should pay the price to you, because this cannot be beyond the experience of the governor."[14] Apart from the imperial expectation that governors would handle all the cases they could, from a practical point of view, it was also easiest that governors should deal with most cases, because they had direct contact with the parties

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*facundos, iurisque publici peritissimos, post indoctorum collocat terra.* "They appoint as judges men of experience and integrity who have no need of advice from others. Therefore, they laugh at our custom which at times places eloquent men, highly skilled in public law, behind the backs of judges without learning." Harries (1999), 102.

[9] Corcoran (1996), 236. See chapter five of this book, the section *Governors' statues*, for the case of Oecumenius who was specially praised for this knowledge of the law.

[10] *Codex Justinianus* 1.18.1–13, *de iuris et facti ignorantia.*

[11] *Codex Justinianus* 2.11, Diocletian, of 293, *non dubitandum est iudici, si quid a litigatoribus vel ab his qui negotiis adsistunt minus fuerit dictum, id supplere et proferre, quod sciat legibus et iuri publico convenire.*

[12] See chapter one for details on which cases he would have to deal with.

[13] Corcoran (1996), 237.

[14] *Codex Justinianus* 5.51.6 of 290, *quod autem petitis ab heredibus eius qui vendidit pretium vobis exsolvi, superfluo a nobis desideratis, quia nec praesidis experientiam possit latere.*

involved in a lawsuit. In the sphere of jurisdiction, the limitation of imperial power, as Corcoran called it, both in theory and in practice, becomes visible.[15]

Complicated cases might sometimes not be handled in one governor's short term of office, but continue into the next governor's term. If provincials felt their case was held up too much in this way, they might appeal to the emperor for a verdict. Several examples illustrate, though, that emperors still saw it most fit for a governor to handle the cases. Corcoran gives the example of one petitioner who had problems with his free status and had asked more than one governor for help, but had been unsuccessful. The response to his imperial appeal was that he *again* had to petition the governor, even though the emperor stated that he was on the appellant's side. This is clearly a case in which "only the direct intervention of the governor is seen as being effective."[16] The imperial response, with the emperor's sympathy, might have given the petitioner enough support for a favorable verdict from the governor.

Libanius, on the other hand, acknowledged that it might be too much trouble to try to involve a higher official in a case if a governor could do an equally good job. He wrote to the governor of Phoenice, Anatolius (*PLRE* I, Anatolius 4), on behalf of Eustathius (*PLRE* I, Eustathius 3), whose wife had been raped by Lucianus (*PLRE* I, Lucianus 4), possibly one of the tax collectors. Eustathius knew that Libanius was on good terms with the *Comes Orientis* Modestus (*PLRE* I, Modestus 2) and wanted him to bring his case to the *Comes'* attention. Libanius decided otherwise, because he thought it would take too long; besides, he believed in Anatolius' abilities.[17]

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[15] Corcoran (1996), 238.

[16] Corcoran (1996), 238. *Codex Justinianus* 7.14.5.

[17] Libanius, *Epistula* 636, "He begged me to inform Modestus, and to write and enlist his support for the prosecution of the adulterer in his court. But I am sending him to you, for I believe that his projected course involves much trouble, whereas he will obtain equal redress from you without trouble." ἐδεῖτό μου καὶ διδάξαι καὶ παροξῦναι διὰ γραμμάτων Μόδεστον ὡς ἐκεῖ γραψόμενος τὸν μοιχόν. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸν πέμπω παρὰ σὲ νομίσας τὸ μὲν ἔχειν πολὺν πόνον, τὸ δὲ ἴσην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἄνευ πόνων. Of course, Libanius' formulation put pressure on the governor, because of the indirect threat that he could still take the case to the *Comes*.

## *Provincials' expectations of the governor as judge*

> Therefore we are one and all, the entire people, dejected at having been deprived of a governor who alone is able to raise our city again, which had already been brought to its knees, who is a true guardian of justice, easy of access for the victims of injustice, terrible to lawbreakers, fair to both poor and rich, and above all, who was restoring Christianity to its ancient honor. For the fact that he was the most incorruptible man we know, and that he never granted a favor in violation of justice, we have passed over as of less significance than the man's other virtues.[18]

These words of Basil, written in defense of a Cappadocian governor, nicely present the characteristics of a governor in his capacity as ideal judge. A governor could create much goodwill or hostility toward himself among his provincials if they were content or disgruntled about his actions in court. Apart from the ideal of a kind and compassionate judge,[19] they had various qualities in mind when thinking of his attributes as a good judge: accessible, just, incorruptible, impartial, and adhering to the laws.[20]

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[18] Basil, *Epistula* 96, διὸ πανδημεὶ πάντες σκυθρωπάζομεν, ζημιωθέντες ἄρχοντα μόνον δυνάμενον εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσαν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀνορθῶσαι. ἀληθῆ φύλακα τοῦ δικαίου, εὐπρόσιτον τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, φοβερὸν τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ἴσον καὶ πένησι καὶ πλουσίοις, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πράγματα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανάγοντα τιμήν. τὸ γάρ, ὅτι ἀδωρότατος ὢν ἴσμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδενὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον χαριζόμενος, ὡς μικρότερα τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρελίπομεν. Basil was talking about Helias, governor of Cappadocia, in 372.

[19] See the opening quote of this chapter, and also Basil, *Epistula* 112, in which Basil appealed to Andronicus (*PLRE* I, Andronicus 4), governor of Armenia in 372, "But when we saw that this man lived in fear and ignominy, and that his salvation rested with your decision, we judged that he had received sufficient punishment; and we now beg you to consider his case with both magnanimity and kindness. For to keep the rebellious under one's hand is truly the part of a strong man and a ruler, but to be kind and gentle to the fallen is the mark of one who surpasses all men in magnanimity and kindness. And thus it will be within your power, if you so wish, to exhibit with the same person magnanimity and kindness in exacting punishment and, as you would prefer, in granting succor." ἀλλ' ὁρῶντες τοῦτον περιδεῶς καὶ ἀδόξως ζῶντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ψήφῳ κειμένην αὐτοῦ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀρκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὴν δίκην ἐκρίναμεν. μεγαλόψυχόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον διανοηθῆναί σε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱκετεύομεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀντιτείνοντας ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαυβάνειν ἀνδρείου τε καὶ ἄρχοντος ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ὑποπεπτωκόσι χρηστὸν εἶναι καὶ πρᾶον μεγαλοφροσύνῃ πάντων καὶ ἡμερότητι διαφέροντος. ὥστε ὑπάρξει σοι βουληθέντι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τὴν τε πρὸς τὸ ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ σώζειν, ὡς ἂν ἐθέλοις, ἐπιδείξασθαι μεγαλοψυχίαν.

[20] Expectations, of course, were often far removed from reality, and chapter 5 on provincials' attitudes toward governors discusses the reverse of these expectations.

When Basil said of Helias (*PLRE* I, 411), governor of Cappadocia, that he was "easy of access for the victims of injustice,"[21] he leaves us the impression that Helias was accessible to people, especially those who had suffered injustice. Provincials who wanted to bring a case before a governor needed to have access to him in order to present their case. If a governor was not accessible or approachable, provincials were not able to bring their cases before him, and might gain the sense that he did not want to assist them in bringing justice to their province.

In practice, not all provincials had equal access to a governor. People of higher status, the *honorati*, got in touch with a governor more easily, because not only were they allowed by law to sit with him during his official duties, they were also the ones who socialized with him.[22] One of the most important official ways to meet a governor was to attend his so-called '*salutatio*' (εἴσοδος), the official audience at a governor's *praetorium*.[23] A *salutatio* was held before the opening of a court session, and visitors' names would be called out by a herald.[24] Not every provincial could just appear at the governor's mansion and demand an appearance before him. The strong hierarchical structure of Late Roman society was also represented at the *salutatio*, where there was a strict *ordo salutationis* in which one appeared at an audience and was received by a governor. Based on an inscribed list from Timgad, the following order of appearance emerges: first, senators; second, the heads (*principes*) of governors' *officium* and members of the central departments of administration; third, former priests of the provinces and the highest ranking members of the city council; and fourth, most of the councilors, including civic magistrates and ordinary members of governors' *officium*.[25]

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Also, cf. Kelly (*CAH*[2] XIII, 145–46) for a reference to the imperial virtues (moderation, clemency, frugality, accessibility, willingness to obey laws) and vices (cruelty, capriciousness, unpredictability, inaccessibility) as described already in semi-philosophical treatises on kingship dating back to the third and second centuries B.C.

[21] Basil, *Epistula* 96, εὐπρόσιτον τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις.

[22] Governors were not allowed to bring their own advisors, so consequently they might turn to members of the local elite, *honorati*, for advice on court cases and other matters of importance. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.34.3 of 423, also Jones (1964), 503. See also chapter one, the section *The governor's office*, n. 62.

[23] Liebeschuetz (1972), 188.

[24] Liebeschuetz (1972), 188.

[25] *CIL* 8.17896. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 6.28.8 of 435, "But in official salutations and in the privilege of sitting with judges, We command that those persons shall

Lower class provincials are not found on the list of the *ordo salutationis*, and did not have direct access to a governor, but had to have a higher class person as their advocate to bring their case to a governor's attention. The emperor Constantine showed concern for the accessibility of governors and fairness of trials:

> The governors shall conduct public trials with their tribunals crowded by throngs of people throughout the trials, and when they are about to hear civil controversies, they shall not hide themselves in their private council chambers so that a litigant cannot obtain an opportunity to appear before them without a price. When they have granted an audience for all cases which have been brought to them and the frequent announcements of the herald, made in the usual manner, have found no remaining person who desires to institute an action, after all public and private acts have been completed, the judge shall have the right to withdraw.[26]

If *honorati* had an audience with a governor before a court hearing and then were actually sitting with him during a case to advise him, one can wonder if a case of a lower class person against a *honoratus* would even stand a chance of being decided 'fairly.'[27] Though individual *honorati* were not allowed to sit with a governor when he was hearing a case in which they themselves were involved, presumably other *honorati* might try to influence the governor on their behalf.[28]

In the fourth century governors started to hear cases in a secret so-called 'secretarium' which could result in unfair conditions for people who were seeking fair judgment, or as Liebeschuetz stated: "with no open court, any opportunity to speak to a governor would

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take precedence who through long terms of imperial service have attained the actual office of chief office staff, although their service in this office are later in time." *Sed in salutationibus iudicum consessibusque priores eos, qui per longae militiae metas ad principatus actum pervenerit, etsi actus tempore posteriores sint, esse praecipimus*. See also Kelly, *CAH*² XIII, 178, Liebeschuetz (1972), 188, and Kelly (2004), 107–107.

[26] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.6 of 331, *praesides publicas notiones exerceant frequentatis per examina tribunalibus, nec civiles controversias audituri secretaries sese abscondant, ut iurgaturus conveniendi eos nisi pretio facultatem impetrare non possit, et cum negotiis omnibus, quae ad se delata fuerint, exhibuerint audientiam et frequens praeconis, ut adsolet fieri, inclamatio nullum, qui postulare voluerit, deprehenderit, expletis omnibus actibus publicis privatisque sese recipiant*. See also 1.12.1 of 313–315, "You must hear publicly all civil suits, especially those which are more celebrated in fame, and also criminal cases." *Omnes civiles causas et praecipue eas, quae fama celebriores sunt, negotia etiam criminalia publice audire debebis.*

[27] Liebeschuetz (1972), 191.

[28] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.20.1 of 408.

have to be paid for."[29] A law from 364 of the emperors Valentinian and Valens demonstrated their concern for court hearings taking place in secret and their attempt to stop the practice:

> The judge shall not doubt that there is imposed upon him an especial duty in hearing and deciding cases, namely, that he shall not pronounce in the seclusion of his home a decision concerning the status of men or of patrimonies, but he shall hear both civil and criminal suits with the doors of his private council chambers open and with everyone called inside, or he shall take his place before the tribunal, in order that he may not be restrained from the infliction of a suitable punishment.[30]

In addition to the argument that *honorati* would have much more opportunity to get access to a governor, what needs to be emphasized is that only those provincials who lived in or near the provincial capital or the city where the governor arrived to hear court cases would be able to get access to him. All those people, especially the poor peasants, who would have to travel and pay for lodgings, could not afford to give up their small daily income and spend their time and money on having their case heard before a governor.[31]

The many laws issued on governors' accessibility and alleged secrecy give the impression that in practice most provincials would have difficulties getting to a governor, though not all governors proved unapproachable. An example of an extremely accessible and approachable governor is found in the year 497, when Alexander (*PLRE* II, Alexander 14) was governor of Osrhoene. He had put up a wooden 'suggestion' box in front of his residence, in which provincials could drop him a note with a request in case they did not feel comfortable expressing their wish in public. If their request involved a court case, they did not have to 'pay' several of his officials and assistants in an attempt to gain his attention, because on Fridays he settled lawsuits free of charge.[32] Alexander's efforts to be accessible to his

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[29] Liebeschuetz (1972), 187.

[30] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.9 of 364, *iudex sibi hanc praecipuam curam in audiendis ac discingendis litibus inpositam esse non ambigat, ta ut non in secessu domus de statu hominum vel patrimoniorum sententiam ferat, sed apertis secretarii foribus intro vocatis omnibus aut pro tribunali locatus et civiles et criminales controversiae audiat, ne congruae ultionis animadversione cohibeatur*. Cf. 1.16.10 of 364/365.

[31] Kelly (2004), 142. Frakes (2001), 2–3.

[32] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 29. See comments Trombley and Watt (2000), 27. See chapter three for a more extensive discussion of the case of Alexander and his benefactions for his subjects in Osrhoene.

provincial subjects seem exceptional in that he offers different opportunities to them to get in touch with him directly without the assistance of influential patrons or possible obstruction by his officials.

A 'sense of justice' was for provincials the most important virtue of a governor in the courtroom as the following passage from Basil implies:

> I know that the first and greatest object of your Honor's zeal is to favor the cause of justice in every way, and the second, to benefit your friends and to take action in the interests of those who flee to the protection of your Magnanimity.[33]

In petitions, especially, provincials appealed to a governor's sense of justice, though often in vague terms. When Libanius wrote to Priscianus (*PLRE* I, Priscianus 1) during his governorship of Euphratensis in 360, his request for help was not particularly specific, at least not for us to understand what the case was about, but Libanius' wish for justice from the governor was clear: "Some evil fellow has done harm and escaped and got clean away, and now this man has arrived asking to receive justice."[34] One can wonder what 'justice' meant to provincials. Undoubtedly, different groups had a different sense of justice, and what was regarded as a just verdict by one party, was felt to be unfair and unreasonable by another. Governors might find themselves caught between the different parties, of which one, unavoidably, would be disappointed.

Emperors, too, wanted their officials to conduct themselves with a sense of justice. In a law of 325, the emperor Constantine encouraged all the provincials to bring governors who behaved unjustly to his attention for punishment:

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[33] Basil, *Epistula* 86, οἶδα μεγίστην καὶ πρώτην σπουδὴν οὖσαν τῇ τιμιότητί σου πάντα τρόπον χαρίζεσθαι τῷ δικαίῳ, δευτέραν δὲ τὸ καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν προσφευγόντων τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς σῆς μεγαλονοίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι.

[34] Libanius, *Epistula* 629, πονηρὸς δέ τις βλάψας ἄνθρωπος ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο, καὶ νῦν οὗτος ἀφῖκται τῶν δικαίων ἀξιῶν τυχεῖν. Cf. two letters of Gregory of Nazianzus; *Epistula* 104, In my name I present to you the wretched Philomena, who prostrates herself for your Justice, and pours out her tears for you, with which she breaks our heart." Τὴν ἀθλίαν Φιλουμένην δι' ἐμαυτοῦ προσάγω σοι, καὶ τῇ σῇ δίκῃ προσπεσουμένην, καὶ ὑμῖν τὰ δάκρυα στήσουσαν, οἷς συντρίβει τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχήν. Also, *Epistula* 105, "But this we (ask) from you that you do not harshly dismiss our request, but that you kindly receive the wretched Paulus, whom Justice has led to your hands." τὴν δὲ, μὴ τραχέως ἀποπέμψασθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν πρεσβείαν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρως δέξασθαι τὸν ἄθλιον Παῦλον, ὃν ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἤγαγεν ἡ δίκη τὰς σάς. See M.-M. Hauser-Meury (1960) for a brief prosopographical description of both Philomena and Paulus. Not much is known about them except for the information given in the two letters of Gregory.

> If there is any person of any position, rank, or dignity whatever who believes that he is able to prove anything truthfully and clearly against any judge, count, or any of my retainers or palatines, in that any of these persons has committed some act which appears to have been done without integrity and justice, let him approach Me and appeal to Me unafraid and secure. I Myself will hear everything; I Myself will conduct an investigation; and if the charge should be proved, I Myself will avenge Myself. Let him speak with safety, and let him speak with a clear conscience. If he should prove the case, as I have said, I Myself will avenge Myself on that person who has deceived Me up to this time with feigned integrity. The person, moreover, who has revealed and proved the offense I will enrich with honors as well as with material rewards.[35]

While petitioners appealed to a governor's sense of justice, they would also want to give a governor the impression that they themselves had a sense of justice, because a governor who acted justly among provincials with no idea of justice would get no appreciation for his achievements. Basil emphasized *his* awareness of the sense of justice of governor Antipater when he was asking help from him for his mother Palladia: "So since trouble has been stirred up concerning her house, we ask your Magnanimity to postpone your inquiry a little while, and to await our presence, not that justice may be foiled (for I should prefer to die ten thousand times than to ask such a favor of a judge who is a lover of the laws and of justice), but that you may learn from me by word of mouth those things which it does not become me to write."[36]

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[35] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.1.4 of 325. *si quis est cuiuscumque loci ordinis dignitatis, qui se in quemcumque iudicum comitum amicorum vel palatinorum meorum aliquid veraciter et manifeste probare posse confidit, quod non integer adque iuste gessisse videatur, intrepidus et securus accedat, interpellet me: ipse audiam omnia, ipse cognoscam et si fuerit conprobatum, ipse me vindicabo. Dicat, securus et bene sibi conscius dicat: si probaverit, ut dixi, ipse me vindicabo de eo, qui me usque ad hoc tempus simulata integritate deceperit, illum autem, qui hoc prodiderit et conprobaverit, et dignitatibus et rebus augebo.* Constantine's emphasis on his personal involvement is noteworthy, because in practice it would have been difficult for him to deal with many individual cases. Still, some of his other laws also contain this personal element, perhaps because he wanted to give the impression that he himself cared for all his subjects and wanted to be involved. See for instance 1.16.6 of 331, 1.16.7 of 331.

[36] Basil, *Epistula* 137 of 373, a letter sent to Antipater (*PLRE* I, Antipater 2) governor of Cappadocia I in 373–74. ἐπεὶ οὖν κεκίνηταί τις ταραχὴ περὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ἀξιοῦμεν σου τὴν μεγαλόνοιαν μικρὸν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀναμεῖναι ἡμῶν τὴν παρουσίαν, οὐχ ὥστε διαφθαρῆναι τὸ δίκαιον (μυριάκις γὰρ ἄν ἀποθανεῖν ἑλοίμην ἢ τοιαύτην αἰτῆσαι χάριν παρὰ δικαστοῦ φίλου τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ), ἀλλ' ὥστε ἃ οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἐμοὶ γράφειν, ταῦτα ἀπὸ στόματος ἀπαγγέλλοντός μου μαθεῖν.

Corruption was a widespread phenomenon in late antique government, and was not limited to governors only, who were pressured into corruption and taking bribes in exchange for particular verdicts in court cases. Though provincials hoped for an honest governor in court, in practice they were accustomed to corruption, even though emperors tried to stop it, with varying success. Closely connected with incorruptibility was provincials' hope for impartiality, the wish that governors would treat everyone equally, rich and poor alike, as several laws illustrate: "the appearance of the governor shall not be at a price: the ears of the judge shall be open equally to the poorest as well as to the rich."[37] There is, however, a considerable discrepancy between the laws and reality. In a society in which there was no equality, starting at the top with an absolute ruler in the person of the emperor, in which wealth and class affected one's social position, in which poor farmers could not afford to lose a day's wage to appear in court let alone to pay a lawyer, how could one expect to find equality in the courts of provincial governors? Perhaps the notion that provincials hoped for impartiality needs to be modified. In their laws, emperors tried to look as if they cared a great deal for all their subjects and wanted their officials to be impartial and fair; even though they knew that the world did not work in that spirit, at least they left the impression to provincials that they wanted to make the effort. Libanius had no illusion about the difference between treatment of poor and rich in the jurisdictional system: "This is the normal treatment of the weaker at the hands of the wealthy, of the masses at the hands of the elite who expect any charge they make to count for more than proof."[38]

The Cappadocian Fathers, likewise, were realistic about the occurrence of inequality in law, and were, as Van Dam rightfully argued, not so much looking for the "strict and blind application of laws and ordinances," but for the "proportionate distribution of favors and benefactions."[39] Both Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus realized

[37] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.7 of 331, Constantine to the provincials, *Non visio ipsa praesidis cum pretio. Aeque aures iudicantis pauperrimis ac divitibus.*

[38] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.4, πάσχουσι δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιεκῶς οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι παρὰ τῶν δυνατωτέρων, καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔνι χρήματα παρὰ τῶν εὐπορούντων, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν ὀλίγων οἳ τὰς αἰτίας τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῦσιν ἀποδείξεων. See also MacMullen (1988), 92 and Harries (1999), 6.

[39] Van Dam (2002), 80.

that personal connections with governors were far more important than counting on impartiality for, "they were seeking partisan favors rather than impartial justice, they were less concerned about arguing the absolute merits and legal technicalities of their petitions and more interested in establishing personal relationships with their correspondents."[40]

If the justice system was to function satisfactorily empire-wide for both provincials and the imperial government, they should be able to count on governors following the laws as Libanius expressed in the following way:

> It is the duty of the official who has been stationed to defend the laws to make war on every man who contravenes them. If you are slow of foot, you would never turn up to take part in a race, for you know that this is not within the capacity of your feet: yet do you take office, though you are incapable of bringing injustice to light or to raising your voice in support of the ordinances of law?[41]

If, on the other hand, governors did not abide by the law, it became a useless device. In that case, provincials would indeed fall prey to a governor's arbitrariness. Both Synesius and Libanius stressed the importance of governors adhering to the law. In several instances where they believed this principle was not respected, they voiced their complaints. Whereas Synesius asked "to reject such men as trample upon the laws,"[42] Libanius appealed to the emperor, who was after all, the initiator of law:

> When magistrates willing to enforce them are non-existent, laws are mere scraps of paper and do not provide assistance to the victims by allowing them to get the better of their oppressors through their results.

[40] Van Dam (2002), 80.

[41] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.28, παντὶ γὰρ τῷ τοῖς νόμοις ἐναντία ποιοῦντι πολεμεῖν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκει τὸν βοηθεῖν τεταγμένον τοῖς νόμοις. σὺ δὲ βραδὺς μὲν ὢν τοὺς πόδας οὐκ ἂν ἧκες περὶ τάχους ἀγωνιούμενος εἰδὼς ὡς οὐ τῶν σῶν ποδῶν τὸ ἔργον, ἄρχεις δὲ οὔτ' εἰς φῶς ἄγειν ἀδικήματα δυνάμενος οὔθ' ὑπηρετοῦσαν τοῖς τοῦ νόμου προστάγμασι τὴν φωνὴν παρέχειν; Cf. Synesius, *Epistula* 73, p. 132, "Send us more law-abiding magistrates, neither knowing us nor known to us, and who judge cases by innate character, not according to each man's passions." ἄρχοντας ἡμῖν νομιμωτέρους ἐκπέμψατε, ἀγνοοῦντας ἀγνοουμένους, ταῖς φύσεσιν οὐ τοῖς περὶ ἕκαστον πάθεσι τὰ πράγματα κρίνοντας.

[42] Synesius, *Epistula* 73, p. 132, "The first thing to do is to reject such men as trample upon the laws, who govern their country in defiance of the laws." τούτων οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπεγνωκέναι προσήκει τῶν ἐναλλομένων τοῖς νόμοις, παρ' οὓς ἄρχουσι τῆς ἑαυτῶν.

> But when you, Your Majesty, propose proper legislation and when the appointed magistrates take little notice of it and give validity to their own decisions instead of your own decrees, it is not right either for you to be unaware of this or, if you are aware of it, to be complacent about it. You must class such persons as rebels against your authority and loathe them, just as you do rebels. In fact, these people rob you of your own, as far as in them lies, for they bring into disrepute the work of those who live and labor for the provinces, and by their actions they undo it. If the first who dared behave so had been punished by the legislator, the laws would now prevail.[43]

Provincials realized that a governor was to a certain extent 'free' to choose how he would conduct himself during his governorship,[44] and they showed their appreciation for a governor who chose to be fair, as Libanius pointed out to the governor of Pisidia, Entrechius (*PLRE* I, Entrechius 1): "then, on learning that law is supported by its governor's decree and that what was cast down is now being restored, they sing the praises alike of yourself and of him who gave you that office."[45]

Of course, when a governor acted in conformity with the law, but other officials of his staff or members of local courts did not, he was still expected to make them act correctly as well, as Libanius kindly but firmly asked of the governor of Arabia, Belaeus (*PLRE* I, 160): "however, it is the task of the noble governor, and especially you,

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[43] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.32–33, οὐ γὰρ ὄντων τῶν βεβαιοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐθελόντων δικαστῶν γράμματά εἰσι μόνον, τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις δὲ οὐ παρέπονται ποιοῦντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔργοις τῶν ἠδικηκότων κρείττονας. ἀλλ' ὅταν σὺ μέν, ὦ γενναῖε, νομοθετῇς ἃ προσήκει, βραχὺς δὲ τούτων ᾖ λόγος τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ δικάζειν καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν γνώμην ἀντὶ τῶν σοὶ δοκούντων ποιῶσι κυρίαν, οὔτε οὐκ εἰδέναι ταῦτα ὑμᾶς καλὸν οὔτε εἰδότας φέρειν ῥᾳδίως, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπανισταμένων ὑμῖν μερίδι τοὺς τοιούτους θετέον καὶ μισητέον ὥσπερ ἐκείνους. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς, καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τε εἰσίν, ἀφαιροῦντα τά γε τῶν πονούντων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ζώντων ἀτιμάζοντες καὶ οἷς ποιοῦσι λύοντες. εἰ δὲ εἷς ὁ πρῶτος τοῦτο τολμήσας ἐδεδώκει τῷ νομοθέτῃ δίκην, ἴσχυον ἂν οἱ νόμοι. See also *Oratio* 33.18, "He (Tisamenus) began to demonstrate that the law had been passed in vain, and then, as though they were breaking a law, not using it, he gave them all sorts of trouble." ὁ δὲ μάτην ἐδείκνυ τὸν νόμον κείμενον, εἶθ' ὥσπερ παραβαίνοντας νόμον ἀλλ' οὐ νόμῳ χρωμένους πᾶσι κακοῖς περιέβαλλεν ὑβρίζων.

[44] Libanius, *Epistula* 990, "the good Palladius, who although able to act as he likes, has continued to act only in conformity to the law." τὸν χρηστὸν Παλλάδιον, ὃς ἔχων ἃ βούλοιτο πράττειν, ἃ τοῖς νόμοις ἀρέσκει μόνα πράττων διετέλεσεν. *PLRE* I, Palladius 13.

[45] Libanius, *Epistula* 1424, εἶτ' ἀκούοντες νόμους ἄρχοντος γνώμῃ βεβαιουμένους καὶ τὰ κείμενα ἀνιστάμενα κοινοὺς ἐπαίνους εἰς σέ τε καὶ τὸν δόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ᾄδουσι. See chapter 4 for more discussion of praise of a governor in his capacity as judge.

to restore these people by a decree and to proclaim to the others that they are not to treat as sitting ducks whomever they wish; rather, they are to return those things they are holding contrary to the laws and observe the laws in the future."[46]

Apart from the qualities of accessibility, justice, incorruptibility, impartiality, and adherence to the laws, to instill 'fear' could also be regarded as characteristic of a good governor, by both provincials and the imperial government. Fear was a powerful tool for governors to keep provincials from behaving against the law and committing crimes.[47] According to Libanius who complained about governors who were not executing criminals and thereby not setting an example for other potential criminals, fear was a necessary instrument: "this is the governor's task, to send to execution the man who does not deserve to live, and to restrain the rest by fear of a similar fate."[48]

Even the mere thought of having to appear in court, with the customary method of investigation by flogging, might create enough fear to curb crimes, as an account from the first quarter of the fifth century illustrates:

> There was, then, a municipal treasurer (*dispensator*) of Carthage city, a man by the name of Florentius; and, in such a position of responsibility for fiscal suits, as is likely to happen to the persons litigating, they run counter to the concerns of the powers for whom they are acting and whose authority they serve. This man had committed an offense to arouse the proconsul's displeasure, to the hazard of his own head. In this matter, by some order of the proconsul, he was abruptly commanded to be seized and presented before him. So then, without any delay, the office he worked for obeyed and produced the said treasurer, having been publicly arrested, before the proconsul, in this chambers. An awful fear straightaway overspread the bystanders in their hearts at the spectacle before them, and with fellow-feeling they grieved for the fellow and feared for his danger. Meantime, seeing before him the man whom he sought in his wrath, that person in

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[46] Libanius, *Epistula* 763, τὸν δ᾽ αὖ ἄρχοντα καλόν, ὅλλως τε καὶ σέ, τοὺς μὲν κατάγειν κηρύγματι, τοῖς δὲ προειπεῖν μὴ Μυσῶν λείαν οὓς ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδοῦναι μὲν ἃ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔχουσι, χρήσασθαι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῖς νόμοις.

[47] Cf. Van Dam (1996), 61, who calls attention to a letter by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Epistula* 198), in which Gregory mentioned that the governor Nemesius (*PLRE* I, Nemesius 2) "was one of the few ἄρχοντες who inspired fear in his subjects without punishing them."

[48] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.28, τουτὶ δὲ ἄρχοντος ἔργον τὸν μὲν οὐκ ὄντα ζῆν ἄξιον πέμπειν ἀποθανούμενον, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους τῷ φόβῳ τῶν ἴσων κατέχειν.

> power arose, showing his anger in a terrifying, threatening tone, and his questioning induced panic in the treasurer. His wits departed from the terror-stricken man, so he could not find the words for his answers. . . . While the treasurer stood there, in doubt of his very life, surrounded by the Interrogators (torturers) and gripped by his fear of the frightening person in power . . .[49]

An ideal governor was equipped with all the virtues discussed above, but in reality, provincials had to deal with governors who were inaccessible, unjust, corrupt and unconcerned with the law.[50] Emperors repeatedly issued laws, but this reiteration might actually indicate an opposite reality in which emperors were unsuccessful in stopping unfair practices. Both provincials and imperial government dealt with a far from ideal reality.

### *Corruption: "Do ut des?"*

Corruption was not a new phenomenon in the Late Roman world. Ever since the acquisition of Roman territory in the form of provinces, it was a widespread and 'accepted' practice.[51] Before I continue this discussion on corruption, I need to state something about the word 'corruption' as I use it throughout this section. I agree to a large extent with the argument of Kelly that the word is slightly misleading.[52] Clearly, in our modern western society many of the practices in Late Roman administration would be regarded as corrupt. By

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[49] Anonymus, *De Miraculis Santi Stephani Protomartyris* 2.5, *PL* 41.851–52, *igitur dispensator pecuniae publicae Carthaginensis civitatis, Florentius nomine, sicut in talibus functionibus fiscalium actionum evenire assolet actoribus earum, ut motus saepe potestatem sub quibus degunt, et quorum ditioni inserviunt, incurrant; idem usque ad periculum capitis offensam iudiciariae indignationis incurrerat. Qua de re ex praecepto nescio unde proconsulis praecipitanter iussus est rapi, et eius mox obtutibus sisti. Quod cum absque ulla mora officium quod patebat implesset, memoratumque dispensatorem raptum per publicum sedenti proconsuli in secretario obtulisset; continuo pallor ingens coepit discurrere per corda eorum qui aderant, et videbant, atque humana miseratione hominem dolebant, eiusque periculum metuebant. Interea viso protinus quem furialiter quaerebat, exsurgit in voce terribili potestas irata, minaci eumdem dispensatorem interrogatione perturbans. At pavefacti hominis fugata mens metu, nec quid diceret inveniebat. [. . .] Nam cum dispensator ille vitae suae incertus ac dubius sub tanto metu terribilis potestatis inter quaestionarios astaret, repente pulsatum se a tergo persensit.* See also MacMullen (1988), 91.

[50] Cf. Jones (1964), 502.

[51] Jones (1964), 502: "an age in which it was a high compliment to a retiring judge to say that he left office as poor as when he entered upon it must have had low standards of judicial honesty."

[52] Kelly (2004), 3.

using the word 'corruption', he argues, one implies that in this respect Roman society can be compared to our modern societies. In the Later Roman world, however, people would not have had the same understanding of corruption and bribery as we have and therefore one should be careful in using the word to characterize ancient practices. Nevertheless, I believe that there are clear traces in the ancient sources of the negative undertone of the practices of bribery as will shown in this section, and therefore I have chosen to use the word 'corruption'.

In the case of governors, especially when they had spent much of their private money on obtaining a governorship, they might be eager to regain their lost wealth; corruption might be one effective tool if provincials were willing to pay.[53] Corruption was not always easy to detect, and MacMullen argued that in order for corruption to be identified, one needed contemporaries observing and condemning the practice.[54]

Ancient traditions of hospitality and gift giving closely resemble the practice of corruption, and made it difficult to differentiate it from those traditions. When a governor was welcomed into his province with a ceremony, speeches and a banquet, or when a member of the local elite invited him to dinner, and a governor returned to his headquarters with some presents, it might be difficult to distinguish at what point a gift was still a gift and when it turned into a form of corruption. At what moment could one speak of bribery? Both sides could have a mixture of expectations. Several laws urged governors not to put too much pressure on provincials with hospitality and accompanying gifts.[55]

[53] See Jones (1964), 502, and MacMullen (1988), 157.

[54] MacMullen (1988), 123.

[55] *Digesta* 1.16.1 (Ulpian), "The proconsul has to watch that he does not overburden the province through too lavish hospitality." *Observare autem proconsulem oportet, ne in hospitiis praebendis oneret provinciam. Digesta* 1.16.6 (Ulpian), "So far as concerns presents, attend to what we say: there is an old proverb 'neither everything nor every time nor from every person.' For certainly, it is unmannerly to accept from no one, but to take from everyone is utterly contemptible and to take everything offered is sheer greed." *Quantum ad xenia pertinet, audi quid sentimus: vetus proverbium est:* οὔτε πάντα οὔτε πάντοτε οὔτε παρὰ πάντων. *nam valde inhumanum est a nemine accipere, sed passim vilissimum est et omnia avarissimum. Digesta* 1.18.18 (Modestinus), "There is a plebiscite in which it is laid down that no governor shall accept any bounty or gift, save of eatables or drinkables such as may be consumed within a day or two." *Plebi scito continetur, ut ne quis praesidum munus donum caperet nisi esculentum potulentumve, quod intra dies proximos prodigatur.*

Apart from the blurred distinction between corruption on one side and hospitality and the acceptance of 'harmless' gifts on the other, both governors and provincials also walked a thin line between patronage and bribery or corruption. It all depended on how an action, both of provincials and of governors, was received, if it was explained as patronage or bribery. According to Harries, patronage was a "socially accepted exercise" on behalf of one's clients, intended to influence the decision of a judge passively; corruption aimed at actively distorting the course of justice.[56] It was one thing for a prominent provincial to write a letter to a governor asking him to be just in a specific court case; it was quite a different matter if a governor was given some gold coins and presents to help him make the 'right' decision. Of course, it might depend on who the 'prominent' official was, but in general we might say that in the case of patronage a governor was still free to choose his course of action, while in the situation of corruption the element of choice had in effect disappeared. Once a governor accepted money or presents, he allowed himself to be pressured into particular behavior.

While ruling a province which was not their own and where they might not be familiar with local customs, governors might also find themselves in an area where corruption was part of the conventional way of conducting business. A governor might set out to be just as judge, but a web of local power relations might make it difficult for him to uphold his intentions.[57] Andronicus (*PLRE* I, Andronicus 3) as governor of Phoenicia in 360–61 was trapped in such a situation, and might have been exceptional in his reaction in that he stood firm by his own principles and even showed the local population his annoyance about their behavior, for which Libanius praised him:

> He was governor of Phoenicia, that province so free with its bribes, but he was a protector of each man's property, even more meticulous than the owners. The provincials brought their usual offerings, calling them presents and disguising their bribe under the title of the New Year feast, and he very nearly arrested the slaves and had them imprisoned; and he let them off with this much punishment and ordered them in future to distinguish a governor from a hireling.[58]

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[56] Harries (1999), 99–100.

[57] Corcoran (1996), 241–43. See also *Codex Justinianus* 2.13.1.

[58] Libanius, *Oratio* 62.56, οὗτος ἦρξε μὲν τῆς δοῦναι δυναμένης Φοινίκης, φύλαξ δὲ ἐγένετο τῶν ἑκάστοις ὄντων ἀκριβέστερος δεσποτῶν. καὶ φερόντων ἐκείνων ἅπερ εἰώθεσαν καὶ δῶρα ὀνομαζόντων καὶ μισθὸν ὑποκοριζομένων [καὶ] τῆς μεγάλης

If corruption was part of political life in the Late Roman world, it also meant that poor people would always be at a disadvantage, because they would not be able to afford to bribe a governor, even though by law poor and rich should have similar access to a governor's court.[59]

Emperors were concerned about the functioning of their officials in the provinces and the manner in which provincials were treated in court cases, as the emperor Constantine made clear in a law to all the provincials in his empire:

> The chamber curtain of the judge shall not be venal; entrance shall not be gained by purchase, the private council chamber shall not be infamous on account of bids. The appearance of the governor shall not be at a price; the ears of the judge shall be open equally to the poorest as well as to the rich. There shall be no despoiling on the occasion of escorting persons inside by the one who is called chief of the office staff. The assistants of the aforesaid chiefs of office shall employ no extortion on litigants; the intolerable onslaught of centurions and other apparitores who demand small and great sums shall be crushed; and the unsated greed of those who deliver the records of a case to litigants shall be restrained.[60]

One of the issues specifically addressed in this law was corruption, which, if not kept in check, could cause provincial disgruntlement. If provincials wanted to follow up on their complaints about corruption, it was essential to gain access to and sympathy of officials higher than governors, who were able to stop the misbehavior.[61]

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ἑορτῆς ὀνόματι μικροῦ μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας λαβὼν ἔδησε, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς χαρισάμενος τὸ κολάσαι διαγιγνώσκειν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ, τί μὲν ἄρχων, τί δὲ μισθωτός.

[59] See for instance, *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.6 of 331, 1.16.7 of 331. Cf. Menander Rhetor, 379, "No one will dwell in prison unjustly, or be unjustly punished; the rich will not be preferred nor the poor man's just cause fall to the ground. So let our rich men cease to boast of their resources and our poor men cease to complain of their weakness." οὐδεὶς ἀδίκως οἰκήσει τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἢ δίκην δώσει τῷ νόμῳ, οὐ προκριθήσεται πλούσιος, οὐ χαμαὶ πεσεῖται λόγος τοῦ πένητος δίκαιος, πεπαύσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πλούσιοι ταῖς περιουσίαις κομπούμενοι, πεπαύσθωσαν οἱ πένητες ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀσθένειαν. Cf. Kelly (2004), 182, where he argues that payment to officials of the Late Roman bureaucracy was "first and foremost, a clear-cut, practical, and efficient method of ordering the queue of those seeking administrative or judicial action."

[60] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.7, Constantine to the provincials, November 1, 331, *non sit venale iudicis velum, non ingressus redempti, non infame licitationibus secretarium, non visio ipsa praesidis cum pretio. Aeque aures iudicantis pauperrimis ac divitibus reserentur. Absit ab inducendo eius qui officii princeps dicitur depraedatio; nullas litigatoribus adiutores eorundem officii principum concussions adhibeant; centurionun aliorumque officialium parva magnaque poscentium intolerandi impetus oblidantur eorumque, qui iurgantibus acta restituunt, inexpleta aviditas temperatur.*

[61] Harries (1999), 168.

Consequently, governors could expect to be penalized for misconduct, for their superiors were not only in the position to hold them accountable for their actions, but they could also punish them and could even harm their future ambitions.[62] Repeatedly, Constantine acknowledged the reality of corruption and tried to stop it.[63] In a letter to Felix (*PLRE* I, Felix 1) the governor of Corsica, he ordered by decree that court records of governors should be copied and sent to the Praetorian Prefect who could forward them to the emperor, because: "indeed, when a man gives incorrect judgment because corrupted through bribery or influence, the victim shall be granted vengeance against him not only by his loss of good name, but also through the danger of a lawsuit."[64]

Emperors threatened corrupt governors with various types of punishment. Apart from making an example out of an individual governor as a warning to other potential lawbreakers: "in order that the punishment of one person may inspire fear in many,"[65] governors could be forced to repay damage,[66] they might not be allowed to fulfill other offices again,[67] or could be deprived of insignia and lose their status, which was the worst punishment possible for an upper class man.[68] In a society in which honor played an important role in one's public image, loss of it was seen as causing irreparable

[62] Harries (1999), 167.

[63] Cf. *Codex Justinianus* 7.64.7 of Diocletian on bribery: "Decisions gained by bribery, brought in by corrupt judges for profit, have already been decreed to be invalid by the divine emperors, even without the assistance of an appeal." *Venales sententias, quae in mercedem a corruptis iudicibus proferuntur, citra interpositae provocationis auxilium iam pridem a divis principibus infirmas esse decretum est.* Translation by Corcoran (1996), 240.

[64] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.3 of 319, *de eo sane, qui pretio depravatus aut gratia perperam iudicaverit, ei vindicta quem laeserit non solum existimationis dispendiis, sed etiam litis discrimine praebeatur.* Cf. *Codex Justinianus* 2.4.28 of 294 in which the *acta rectoris provinciae* are mentioned.

[65] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.27.3 of 382 to Matronianus, Duke and Governor of Sardinia, "In order that the punishment of one person may cause fear in many, We order Natalis, the former Duke, to go, under custody of members of the imperial bodyguard, to the province which he despoiled, that he may repay fourfold, even though unwillingly, not only that which—I shall not say—his confidential adviser and his soldiery and his personal aide received, but also that which he himself seized and carried away from Our provincials." *Ut unius poena metus posit esse multorum, Natalem quondam ducem sub custodia protectorum ad provinciarum quam nudaverat ire praecipimus, ut non solum quod eius non dicam domesticus, sed manipularius et minister accepit, verum etiam quod ipse a provincialibus nostris rapuit ac sustulit, in quadruplum invitus exsolvat.*

[66] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.27.3 of 380, 9.27.4 of 382.

[67] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.27.2 of 380.

[68] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.3 of 318/319, 9.27.1 of 380, 9.27.5 of 383.

damage to one's reputation. Above all, the scorn of peers and people of higher status was devastating, as Lendon has argued: "it was not only punishment that governors feared, but scandal, loss of honor, arising from revelations of conduct that to peers seemed unacceptable."[69]

Though emperors showed concern for provincials victimized by corrupt officials, they could not personally hunt down all these wrongdoers, and apart from exceptional cases which would be directly sent to the emperors, it became the responsibility of the Praetorian Prefects to detect these men and punish them.[70] Provincials were encouraged to come forward if they had "suffered extortion in any manner at the hands of a judge, if any person knows that a judicial decision has been venal, if anyone knows that a penalty has been remitted for a price or inflicted through depraved cupidity, finally, if any can prove that a judge has been unjust in any kind of case, either during his administration or after he has laid down his administration, let such a provincial come before the public officials, let him report the crime, let him prove his accusation, and when he proves his charge, he shall obtain both victory and glory."[71]

Ultimately, governors as the heads of government in their provinces were responsible for the behavior and functioning of the members of their *officium*, on whom they depended heavily for the performance of their daily activities and duties. The *officiales*, who came from the province and were in permanent service to governors whose stay was only temporary, were notorious for taking bribes.[72] Governors

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[69] Lendon (1997), 192–93.

[70] Harries (1999), 169.

[71] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.27.6 of 386, *a iudice fuerit aliqua ratione concussus, si quis scit venalem de iure fuisse sententiam, si quis poenam vel pretio remissam vel vitio cupiditatis ingestam, si quis postremo quacumque de causa inprobum iudicem potuerit adprobare, is vel administrante eo vel post administrationem depositam in publicum prodeat, crimen deferat, delatam adprobet, cum probaverit et victoriam reportaturus et gloriam.* See also Jones (1964), 504.

[72] Not only members of governors' staff were notorious for corruption, members of other officials' staff were known for the same flaws. There is a striking example in a law (*Codex Theodosianus* 14.4.3) of 362/63, addressed to the Praetorian Prefect of the city of Rome, in which the emperor implies that the *apparitores* of higher officials are more likely to be corrupt than the *apparitores* of a governor: "Moreover, the exaction of money payments shall be suitably effected not through your office staff or the swine collectors themselves, but through the *apparitores* of the governors, in accordance with the regulation of Our Clemency. For because the *apparitores* of the higher officials are customarily ruinous to the provincials, this exaction of payment also shall be performed through the judges ordinary and the municipal councils."

had to keep a close watch on them. Emperors attempted to bring this practice of corruption to a halt.[73]

In a world in which there were no public prosecutors, provincials themselves had to bring their cases before a governor.[74] Access to a governor was not a matter of walking through the door of his *praetorium* straight into his office. Money was essential to reach the different officials who could provide not only physical access, but also the attention of a governor for one's case, to work for you. Again, there was a fine line between perceiving these payments as official fees for services rendered or as bribes. To provincials, paying for services of a governor's staff was conceivably an acceptable reality as long as they did not have the sense that they were being exploited or betrayed; but as soon as they felt they had to pay too much or they were cheated, they might openly complain about it. That charges (*sportulae*[75]) for services were, indeed, a reality is shown by the inscription of an official pricelist from 362/3, put on a public building in the city of Timgad in Numidia.[76] The list indicated in bushels (*modii*) of wheat what provincials needed to pay to various officials at different stages in litigation.[77] Notably, by contrast, the one court that provincials could go to without paying money for access was the bishop's court.[78]

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*Exactio autem nummaria non per officium tuum vel ipsos suarios, sed per officiales consularis iuxta praeceptum nostrae mansuetudinis competentem sortiatur effectum. Nam quia maiorum potestatem officiales solent esse provincialibus perniciosi, per ordinarios iudices adque curias etiam hanc exactionem convenit celebrari.*

[73] See for instance *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.7 of 331, 8.4.22 of 412, 11.11.1 of 368/370/373.

[74] MacMullen (1988), 92.

[75] See Jones (1964), 496–99. Originally, *sportulae* were unofficial tips, and Constantine tried to stop the practice (*Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.7 of 331), but by the end of the fourth century it had become an accepted institution to pay fees to officials. Frakes (2001), 3.

[76] *CIL* 8.17896 = Bruns, *Fontes* 1, 103 = *FIRA*$^2$ 1.331, Mommsen (1884), 629–46.

[77] See Jones (1964), 497, and MacMullen (1988), 151, for a discussion of the different officials and the different prices mentioned in the list. For instance, a governor's head of the *officium* got five bushels of wheat or money of equal value to start a case, which did not need any clerk or summoner to travel a mile. If a clerk had to travel up to a mile, then seven bushels were to be paid. According to MacMullen, a bushel of wheat cost even in a famine year only a tenth of a solidus, and therefore, the "sums demanded Numidia were not beyond the reach of a small farmer." However, Jones argued that the "amounts do not seem very exorbitant, but if it be remembered that forty modii represented a man's ration for a year, and that thirty modii cost one solidus, it can be seen that even these fees must have been a serious matter for a poor man."

[78] Liebeschuetz (2001), 142.

In conclusion, corruption was not a phenomenon restricted to governors and their staff, but also occurred at the courts of higher officials, even at the emperor's court.[79] The visibility of corruption at the provincial level perhaps was a matter of provincial willingness or bravery to expose corrupt officials; in other words, as Harries articulated it, "the difference in Late Antiquity was not that judges were more corrupt than emperors," but "provincials and the ever-critical Christians were more often prepared to say so."[80]

### *Unfavorable reactions to governors' judgment*

Provincials did not always agree with the way governors behaved in court or with their verdicts in trials. Their frustration and criticism can be put under two headings: negligence and indifference, and unnecessary and excessive cruelty of governors.

With jurisdiction as one of his most important duties, provincials could expect their governor to spend plenty of time on trials, and to be concerned about provincials being content with his verdicts; but when he turned out to be quite the opposite, disappointment about his conduct could lead to serious complaints reaching the imperial court. In the works of Libanius there are remarkable examples of reproaches to governors for their negligence and lack of judicial abilities.[81] The Speeches 45 ('To the emperor, on the prisoners') and 33 ('To the emperor Theodosius, against Tisamenus')—dated to the late 380s—are paired together in modern scholarship, because both address the conditions in the prisons of Antioch, and demonstrate a negative view of governors' conduct in court. Speech 45 is a general critique of provincial government. Libanius claimed that prisons in Antioch were overcrowded, because governors were too slow in fulfilling their judicial functions as well as in executing those sentenced

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[79] See Ammianus Marcellinus, 28.6.7 in which corruption at the imperial court caused two embassies from the province of Tripolitana to fail, and even resulted in the execution of one of the ambassadors. See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 109.

[80] Jones (1964), 502. Also Harries (1999), 171. See chapter six on critical attitudes toward governors for an argument why "provincials and the ever-critical Christian church" were more prepared to publicly criticize governors.

[81] See chapter six on critical attitudes towards governors for an extensive discussion of why men like Libanius could criticize governors without running the risk of punishment.

to death. In Speech 33, Libanius criticized Tisamenus (*PLRE* I, 916–17), the governor of Syria in 386, to the extent that he wanted the emperor to remove him from office, because, among other things, Tisamenus was negligent and careless, and totally incompetent in his judicial duties. Not only did he avoid his court duties, and showed more interest in public entertainment, but he was also incapable of bringing a court case to an end.[82]

Negligence manifested itself in many different shapes and forms. Avoidance of court cases, of which Tisamenus was accused, was regarded as terrible negligence. According to Roman law, people were entitled to a trial, irrespective of the crimes they had committed. If a governor stalled trials, or even evaded them, Roman rule stopped functioning properly. Libanius showed frustration about the fact that even serious criminals were not getting a proper trial in a timely fashion, but died prematurely in prison: "And even for serious criminals a case could be made, and properly so, in my opinion, that if they die without trial, then they are the victims of injustice in having failed to secure a hearing, and if they die after guilt has been proved, they are again victimized by being robbed of a speedy death."[83]

Then, a governor who took on smaller and trivial cases, instead of larger and complicated ones—though perhaps understandable from a governor's point of view, because smaller cases might demand common sense rather than much legal knowledge—was a great cause of frustration and annoyance for provincials who were involved in complicated matters and needed a governor to render a verdict:

> And court hearings there are in plenty for matters of little moment, for matters of importance, few. Anyway, I have often sat in attendance and listened to cases dealing with thirty staters, or twenty, an acre of land, a few trees, a slave, a camel, an ass, a cloak or a jacket, and things far less important still, with a galaxy of legal talent on each side and longwinded speeches from both. [. . .] My dear fellows, how is it that there is room for all this along with your collecting duties, when because of those duties the courts are closed to men under arrest?[84]

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[82] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.8–9. Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 45.20. See chapter six for an extensive discussion of Tisamenus' case.

[83] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.14, εἴποι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων λόγον, οἶμαι, δίκαιον ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἀνεξέταστοι τεθνᾶσιν, ἠδίκηνται κρίσεως οὐ τετυχηκότες, εἰ δὲ ἐξεληλεγμένοι, πάλιν ἠδίκηνται τοῦ περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀπεστερημένοι τάχους.

[84] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.18, δίκαι δὲ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν πολλαί, ὑπὲρ δὲ μεγάλων ὀλίγαι.

Finally, governors who appeared to lack any care for people who were caught up in court cases, who perhaps were locked up in jail, and even died there before their case was decided, angered Libanius as he demonstrated in his plea to the emperor: "Yes, people are dying, Sire, and dying as a result of their afflictions of close confinement in particular, and dying in thousands. The jailor makes his report; the governor does not turn a hair, but merely orders the funeral."[85]

Libanius' attack on Tisamenus reflected, according to Harries, a change in attitude of the imperial government towards their governors in their capacity as judges.[86] Several laws of the 380s and 390s held governors accountable for negligence and laziness, and even made them liable to punishment:

> If your Sublimity should find any judges who are lazy in body and negligent, yawning with dreams of idleness, or any who are degenerate with the greed of servile thievery or involved in the disgrace of similar vices, you shall heap upon them the punishment of public vengeance, and you shall choose substitutes for those who have been removed, so that not their crimes, but their punishment shall be referred to the knowledge of Our Clemency.[87]

It was expected and accepted in Roman investigations to use violent examination methods such as beating and flogging as a way of torture to find out the truth from people accused of a crime. That flogging and violent punishments were regarded as normal procedure is demonstrated by Libanius' criticism of governors, who "use every

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πολλάκις γοῦν ἤκουσα παρακαθήμενος τριάκοντα στατῆρας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ πλέθρον καὶ δένδρα τινὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον καὶ χλαμύδα καὶ χιτωνίσκον καὶ πολὺ τούτων ἐλάττω καὶ πολλοὺς μεθ᾽ ἑκατέρων ῥήτορας καὶ μακροὺς παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων λόγους. [. . .] πῶς οὖν, ὦ βέλιστοι, τούτοις μὲν ἔνι χώρα μετὰ τῶν εἰσπράξεων, τοῖς δεσμώταις δὲ δι᾽ ἐκείνας κέκλειται τὰ δικαστήρια;

[85] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.11, θνήσκουσι γὰρ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θνήσκουσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ μεγίστῳ δή, στενοχωρίᾳ, μυρίοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν φύλαξ ἐμήνυσεν, ὁ δ᾽ ἄρχων οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ παθὼν θάπτειν ἐπέτρεψε.

[86] Harries (1999), 156.

[87] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.5.9 of 389 to the Praetorian Prefect Tatianus, *Si quos iudices corpore marcentes et neglegentes desidiae somniis oscitantes, si quos servilis furti aviditate degeneres vel similium vitiorum labe sublimitas tua reppererit involutos, in eos vindictam publicae ultionis exaggeret et amotis vicarios subroget, ut ad nostrae mansuetudinis scientiam non crimina, sed vindicta referatur.* Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.2 of 321. See also *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.3 of 318/19 in which the emperor ordered that record books of all cases sent to the office of the Praetorian Prefect for examination of the accomplishments of governors in court were to be reported to the emperor so that the "worthy may obtain a reward and the negligent may incur punishment." *Dignus praemium mereatur vel neglegens coercitionem incurrat.*

possible means to achieve office, and when they achieve it, they say that it is not in their nature to submit a man to examination by flogging or to hand him over to the executioner for beheading. My reply to them is that they should recognize their own limitations and stay in private life, without aspiring to office when they are incapable of discharging it."[88]

Some governors were crueler than others in their use of violence, and provincials complained about excessive cruelty in the proceedings for court cases.[89] Libanius was annoyed with Tisamenus, because he, contrary to custom, did not allow people who had been flogged to return to their family and to have doctors treat their wounds, but immediately put them into prison without any care.[90] In his *Autobiography* Libanius described the vices of other governors, several of whom he accused of being too cruel. Aetherius (*PLRE* I, Aetherius 1) supposedly forced Libanius to witness torture: "but it was he who set me in the middle of a crowd of drivers, grooms, and starters, whom he used either to beat or to threaten to burn alive. One old driver he lashed about the ribs, and the populace set up a loud cry, while it was all I could do to avoid the sight of blood. And all this was due to the baseless charges of a madman who revealed his madness even in the actual course of a trial."[91] Protasius (*PLRE* I,

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[88] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.27, πάσῃ μὲν τέχνῃ κτῶνται τὸ παρελθεῖν εἰς ἀρχήν, παρελθόντες δὲ οὐ τῆς αὐτῶν εἶναι φύσεώς φασιν οὔτε βασανίζειν ἄνθρωπον τὴν διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν βάσανον οὔτε ξίφος παραδιδόναι τῷ δημίῳ. πρὸς οὓς εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι χρῆν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐγνωκότας ἰδιωτεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἄρχειν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἄρχειν.

[89] Libanius criticized Tisamenus for flogging people who were naked. Libanius, *Oratio* 33.8, "in his especial desire to be regarded as an expert on this, he imported the utmost possible unpleasantness into the proceedings, first, by withholding presentations that might properly have been made, secondly, by the number of floggings administered to naked bodies." Ἐν τῷ μάλιστα βούλεσθαι ταῦτα εἰδέναι δοκεῖν ἀηδίαν ὅτι πλείστην ἐπεισάγει τοῖς γιγνομένοις νῦν μὲν τῶν δοθέντων ἂν δικαίως ἀποστερῶν, νῦν δὲ πλήθει πληγῶν τῶν κατὰ γυμνοῦ τοῦ σώματος. See also 33.30, where Libanius again condemned Tisamenus' inappropriate way of flogging.

[90] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.31, "Well, other governors, after imposing a flogging, used to release the victim to his relatives, to doctors and their potions, but this fellow sends the wretches to their death through ill-treatment in prison." οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀφεῖσαν τὸν τοῦτο πεπονθότα καὶ ἰατροῖς δὴ καὶ ἰατρῶν φαρμάκοις, ὁ δὲ πέμπει τοὺς ἀθλίους ἀπολουμένους τοῖς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ κακοῖς.

[91] Libanius, *Oratio* 1.161, ἀλλ' οὗτος γέ ἐστιν ὁ στήσας με ἐν μέσῳ πολλῶν μὲν ἡνιόχων, πολλῶν δὲ ἱπποκόμων, οἷς τε ἔργον ἀναπεταννύναι τοῖς ἅρμασι τὰς θύρας· ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἔπαιε, τοὺς δὲ ἠπείλει κατακαύσειν, ἑνὸς δέ τινος ἡνιόχου γέροντος καὶ πλευράς, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ μέγα ἐβόησεν ὁ λεώς, κατέτεμνεν ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν πόνος οὐ

Protasius 2) could barely be stopped while carrying out unwarranted flogging.[92]

According to Harries, cruelty played an important role in the image of 'bad' governors.[93] Andronicus of Berenice (*PLRE* II, 89–90), governor of Libya Superior and notoriously bad according to the negative portrayal by bishop Synesius of Cyrene (*PLRE* II, 1048–50), made use of cruel practices, if we are to believe the bishop: "he has invented thumb-screws and instruments of torture for the feet, and other strange machinery for inflicting punishments, which he employs, not against any guilty people, for every one is now free to do evil, but rather against those who are assessed property-tax, or who owe money in any shape or form."[94]

This is not the place to discuss extensively if governors were ever penalized after provincials' complaints about negligence and excessive cruelty: part of chapter 5 is devoted to this subject. It will suffice here to say that governors had to be careful, because prominent provincials were able to reach and influence higher officials who could, if necessary, even remove governors from office. Nicomachus Flavianus (*PLRE* I, Flavianus 14) proconsul of Asia in 382–3, had flogged a *decurion*, and found himself removed from office after complaints.[95]

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μικρὸς μὴ τὸ αἷμα ἰδεῖν. καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ ψιλῆς αἰτίας ἀνδρὸς ἐποίει μαινομένου δεικνύντος τὴν μανίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ γιγνομένοις τῇ δίκῃ.

[92] Libanius, *Oratio* 1.170, "The two lads were stripped and hoisted up for flogging, while a man named Olympius was in attendance. I was not acquainted with him, but the law was being flouted. Olympius showed such sound sense that, because of his outcries, the governor was prevented from carrying out the flogging, but proceeding to regard and describe his outrageous conduct as sound policy, he took up the cudgels against the military commander, was forced to his senses, and reduced to eating humble pie." καὶ τὼ μὲν νέω γυμνώ τε ἤστην καὶ μετεώρω πρὸς πληγάς, παρεκάθητο δέ τις Ὀλύμπιος. τοῦ δὲ οὐ μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἠδικεῖτο δὲ ὁ νόμος. ὁ δ' οὕτω δή τι ξυνετὸς ἦν, ὥστε οἷς ἐφθέγξατο μὴ μαστιγοῦν ἐκεκώλυτο. φρόνημα δὲ τὸ θράσος καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ ὀνομάξων ὅπλα ἀνταράμενος τῷ στρατηγῷ γνῶναί τε αὑτὸν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ συνεσταλμένος ἔκειτο.

[93] Harries (1999), 156. See also chapter six on critical attitudes toward governors for more discussion on the image of 'bad governors.'

[94] Synesius, *Epistula* 79, p. 139, δακτυλήθρας καὶ ποδοστράβας ἐξευρὼν καὶ ξένα ἄττα κολαστήρια, κατ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀδικούντων (πάνυ γὰρ τὸ νῦν ἔξεστιν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀδικεῖν) κατὰ δὲ τῶν συντελούντων ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁτιοῦν ὀφειλόντων.

[95] Libanius, *Oratio* 28.5. Harries (1999), 1970.

## *Governors caught in the justice system?*

In the Late Roman world, a governor was not necessarily the most eminent person in his province, and as a *vir perfectissimus*, or at most a *vir clarissimus*, he was obliged to take into account the views of the more powerful and influential men, the *spectabiles* and *illustres*.[96] Especially in court cases it must have been difficult sometimes for a governor to render verdicts in an objective way when these prominent men were involved, because they could put pressure on him to decide in a way favorable for them. They could even threaten that they would go to the Vicar, Praetorian Prefect, or even the emperor if the governor did not act in their interest. When governors had ambitions for higher offices, they would not want to offend men who could potentially stop them because of their influential connections. Emperors were aware of the likely power struggle: if governors were put under so much pressure by powerful provincials that they were not able to judge a case, the emperor, or at least the Praetorian Prefect, were to be alerted of this situation.[97]

Another threat to a governor's authority in court was the emergence of a bishop as judge in the *episcopalis audientia*. With the individual governor as a temporary presence in a province because of his short-term appointment, and the bishop as a permanent force, provincials might also rather turn to their bishop sometimes, because a bishop's verdict had equal validity in civil cases.[98]

Although emperors understood the demands and pressures governors were exposed to, they might not act until situations got out of hand. The emperor Theodosius II dealt with what seems to have been an extreme case. In his ruling he emphasized its general

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[96] See chapter six on critical attitudes toward governors, and the conclusion on the final assessment of a governor for further discussion of this aspect of a governor's position.

[97] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.4 of 328, "If any very powerful and arrogant person should arise, and the governors of the provinces are not able to punish him or to examine the case or to pronounce sentence, they must refer his name to Us, or at least to the knowledge of Your Gravity. Thus provision shall be made for consulting the interests of public discipline and the oppressed lower classes." *Praesides provinciarum oportet, si quis potiorum extiterit insolentior et ipsi vindicare non possunt aut examinare aut pronuntiare nequeunt, de eius nomine ad nos aut certe ad gravitatis tuae scientiam referre, quo provideatur, qualiter publicae disciplinae et laesis minoribus consulatur.*

[98] See chapter one, the section on *Governors and higher authorities* for more discussion on bishops and their position as judges. Also, see Slootjes (2006).

character, although it had been generated by a specific situation. It was in 441 that Theodosius intervened on behalf of a governor who was being overruled by a local *vir illustris* in Emesa. This prominent local had taken over the governor's court hearings, and was using a gang of slaves to disrupt tax-collection. The emperor brought the situation to an end and punished the local man who had obviously infringed on the governor's prerogatives:

> 1. Therefore, in so far as the report of Your Magnitude has revealed, Valerianus, a decurion of the municipality of Emesa, a transgressor of the public law and the statutes, assumed for himself unjustly and surreptitiously the cincture of office of an Illustrious honor, in order that he might rely on the insignia of such high rank, and might be able to fulfill his insolent design. For accompanied by a great horde of barbarians, he rushed into the private council chamber of the governor of the province, he dared to vindicate a prior place for himself, he seated himself on the right of the man to whom We have committed the laws, to whom We considered that the fate of the provincials should be entrusted, and thus when he had put to flight all the office staff of the governor, he left everything devastated and deserted. He was not richer in resources than he was full of crimes, and he also received other decurions at his home, in order that the public accounts might be defrauded. He placed a garrison of slaves in opposition to the tax collectors, contrary to the public discipline, and thereby the treasury of Our Serenity suffered a great loss through his madness. Vengeance should have taken on him by the more severe stings of the laws, if Our customary clemency had not restrained Us and restored Us to Our customary mildness. Wherefore, We decree by this general sanction that he shall be deprived both of his cincture of office and at the same time of his Illustrious rank, that he shall be restored to the municipal council and at the risk of his own resources he shall perform all the compulsory public services of the municipal council himself, or through a substituted person, if it should thus seem best to the Most Noble governor and to the decurions. He shall obey judicial sentences in the same manner as all others. 2. But because an imperial remedy must be a general one, it is Our will that all other decurions also of all municipalities shall be debarred in the future from the rank of Illustrious, with the cincture of office or without the cincture of office, nor shall they strive for the insignia of this honor themselves.[99]

[99] *Novellae Theodosiani* 15.2, *quantum igitur magnitudinis tuae suggestio patefecit, Valerianus Emisenae civitatis curialis, iuris publici legumque grassator, ob hoc sibi inlustris cingulum honoris immerito per subreptionem adsumpsit, ut illius subnixus infulis dignitatis contumeliosum sui posset amplificare propositum. Magna enim stipatus barbarorum caterva secretarium provinciae moderatoris inrupit, priorem sibi locum ausus est vindicare, dexter adsedit ei, cui iura commisimus,*

The case of this governor in Emesa, and the emperor's interference, illustrates how it was not always easy for a governor to fulfill his duties in a province far from the capital, where prominent locals were potentially more powerful than a governor and perhaps in a better position (militarily or financially) to re-enforce their own wishes without due respect for a governor's authority.[100]

In the end, governors had to balance their duties between the interests of different parties. Undoubtedly, they made compromises if only for their own survival in office. It cannot have been as easy as Libanius wants the addressee of Speech 45 to believe, that all problems with crimes and crowded prisons could be solved with wine and song: "I begged them to get to know the practice of that well-known Phoenician and to follow it; the fact is, though, that they know it well enough, but refuse to follow it. His method was, in Palestine, to punish some of those under arrest and to release the rest, but in either case he followed the dictates of justice. Then there were stalls set up in every prison, jars and cups of wine, and they drank to the accompaniment of song. And he found such a speedy ending to every problem that beset him that he had no more need of prisons."[101]

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*cui fata provincialium duximus esse credenda, ita ut omne eius fugaret officium, vasta omnia ac sola relinqueret. Qui non magis opibus dives quam sceleribus plenus, aliis quoque curialibus domi suae susceptis, ut publica ratio fraudaretur, servile praesidium exactoribus contra publicam obposuit disciplinam, quo magnum dispendium nostrae serenitatis aerarium per eius pateretur vesaniam. In quem oportuerat acerbioribus legum aculeis vindicari, nisi nos mansuetudo, quae adsolet, temperaret et ad suam consuetudinem lenitatemque redigeret. Quapropter eum et cingulo et dignitate simul inlustri privari hac generali sanctione decernimus et curiae redditum per se aut substituam personam, si ita v(iro) c(larissimo) moderatori et curialibus visum fuerit, suarum periculo facultatum omnibus curiae fungi muneribus iudiciariis ad similitudinem ceterorum sententiis pariturum. Verum quia principale remedium generale esse oportet, ceteros quoque civitatum omnium curiales ab inlustri dignitate cum cingulo seu citra cingulum volumes in posterum prohiberi nec sibi infulas huius honoris adpetere.* According to MacMullen (1988), 64, "It was not too harsh a punishment to return him (= Valerianus) to *decurion* rank and there to require him to work through the routine obligations of that status."

[100] See chapter six for pressures governors were exposed to when provincials decided to criticize governors openly, and also for a discussion of other difficulties facing governors during their term of office.

[101] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.30, ἐγὼ δὲ ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι τε τὸ τοῦ Φοίνικος ἐκείνου καὶ μιμεῖσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπίστανται μέν, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι. τί οὖν ἦν τὸ 'κείνου; τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ δεδεμένων τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἔλυσε τῷ δικαίῳ καθ' ἑκάτερον ἀκολουθῶν. ἔπειτα κάπηλοί τε ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ πίθοι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ σὺν ᾠδαῖς ἡ πόσις. οὕτω δὲ τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων πραγμάτων ἑκάστῳ ταχεῖαν εὕρισκε τὴν τελευτὴν ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτῷ δεῆσαι δεσμωτηρίων.

In most instances, however, governors will not have found themselves in such a pleasant situation, but will have tried to judge to the best of their abilities, with the possibility of jeopardizing their own position, or their own future, if they annoyed the wrong opponents in the province.

## CHAPTER THREE

# THE GOVERNOR AS BENEFACTOR: A TWO-WAY RELATIONSHIP

Upon his arrival in Edessa as the new governor of Osrhoene in the year 497, Alexander (*PLRE* II, Alexander 14) launched his term of office with a series of benefactions, as Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite tells us in his Syriac Chronicle.[1] Alexander cleaned up the mess in the streets of the city. He put up a wooden 'suggestion' box in front of his residence, in which people could drop him a note with a request in case they did not feel comfortable enough expressing their wish in public.[2] Every Friday he would settle lawsuits free of charge,[3] and even "uninvestigated cases going back more than fifty years were before him and settled."[4] In addition, he built a walkway at one of the city's gates, and began the construction of a public hall, which apparently had already been in the planning for many years. These measures give the impression that Alexander took the responsibilities of his position as governor seriously and cared a great deal for his subjects. What did they think of all of this? Did Alexander do

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[1] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 29.

[2] See comments Trombley and Watt (2000), 27, "Alexander may have been reviving an old north Syrian custom in soliciting anonymous complaints and adjudicating them on Fridays without a fee." The commentators suspect that this custom even continued into the Islamic period at Aleppo. In the Chronicle of Qirtay al-ʿIzzi Khaznadari (d. A.D. 1333) an identical custom is found; Trombley and Watt argue that the Mongols might have taken this practice from the locals during their occupation of Syria in 1258–1260 A.D.: "When Hulegu camped before Aleppo . . . I sought [his] camp. It was part of the justice of the Mongols that when they made camp, they set up a pole near the king's encampment. From the top of the pole a small box was hung with a string, and around the pole was a guard of the most trusted Mongols. If a man had a complaint or had suffered an injustice, he would write his grievance in a petition, seal it, and place it in this box. When Friday came, the king would have the box brought to him and would open it with a key and thus discover the injustices suffered by people."

[3] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 29, "Every Friday without fail he would sit in the martyrion of Mar John the Baptist and Mar Addai the Apostle and settle lawsuits free of charge. [The oppressed] stood up against their oppressors, the swindled against their swindlers; they brought their cases before him, and he gave judgment."

[4] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 29.

more than they had hoped? Were his efforts beyond their expectations? And, from Alexander's point of view, what did he gain from all his endeavors?

In this chapter I take a closer look at the responsibilities of governors as benefactors. Benefactions, perhaps in essence a phenomenon of 'voluntary gift-giving,' played a prominent role in the socio-political organization of the ancient world. People were accustomed to emperors, Roman officials, and wealthy private citizens bestowing favors upon individuals and communities, be it the construction of public buildings, the organization of lavish games, or the writing of letters of recommendation.[5] A governor, one of the more prominent Roman officials in provincial communities, was, therefore, expected to grant benefactions as well, though as will become clear, certain benefactions were prescribed by law and can almost be regarded as part of governors' official duties, while others were voluntary and depended on how seriously an individual governor took his role as benefactor.

Provincials had certain hopes and expectations of what kind of benefactions governors would and should bestow upon them, while at the same time governors also had expectations of how provincials would and should act as a result of their benefactions. A benefaction never occurred in isolation, but was part of a chain of benefactions, which will be a central theme throughout this chapter. Though governors had the more formal role of being benefactors, I argue that provincials also took on the role of benefactors for governors. As a result, the reciprocity of benefactions became crucial for a rewarding relationship between provincials and governors. Provincials were aware of this element of the relationship, as Libanius noted when he praised a governor for benefactions which were received gratefully: "How can one not grant as many favors as possible, like seeds on the rich earth, to the sort of man who takes care to recall a favor?"[6]

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[5] Veyne (1976), 20–2. See MacMullen (1988), 96–118, chapter 2.4, "How power worked: through favor," for an extensive discussion of the use of favors and power in relationships between people of equal and different status.

[6] Libanius, *Epistula* 651 of 361, addressed to the governor of Galatia, Acacius (*PLRE* I, Acacius 8), ὅτῳ μέλει τοῦ μεμνῆσθαι χάριτος, πῶς οὐχ ὅτι πλείστας τῷ τοιούτῳ δοτέον, ὥσπερ πιείρᾳ γῇ σπέρματα;

### *Practice of benefactions*

Benefactions can be divided into two categories: material benefactions like Alexander's construction of a public hall or the restoration of walls, and non-material benefactions like the use of personal and political influence to help provincials, either individuals, whole communities, or a province in its entirety.

In respect to material benefactions, provincials could expect their governor to carry out so-called 'public works' (*opera publica*), which were projects serving the general public, for instance the restoration of walls and gates, the improvement of bad roads, or the construction of new public buildings. Many regulations in the 15th book of the *Codex Theodosianus* demonstrate that by law a governor was expected to play a key role in the undertaking of many of these civic projects, and to do so voluntarily: "If governors of provinces should see that any public works should necessarily be commenced in any municipality, they shall not hesitate to undertake such works immediately."[7]

First of all, a governor decided on which projects he wanted to complete. This step presents the interesting issue of how a governor would pick the projects he wanted to pursue. Would a city council give him advice? Was a governor, upon his arrival in the province—after a pleasant reception with the appropriate welcome speeches—updated on the state of public buildings, roads and other projects, and was he then presented with a wish list of what the province or a particular city would like to see accomplished?[8] As a rule, a governor did not come from the province he governed, so he would not be aware of the (current) state of affairs. One can only speculate on these arrangements in the Later Roman Empire, but it is likely that

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[7] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.18 of 374, *Rectores provinciarum quodcumque opus inchoandum esse necessario viderint in aliqua civitate, id arripere not dubitent.* Cf. 15.1.28 of 390.

[8] Cf. *Digesta* 1.16.7 (Ulpian), "He (proconsul) should go on a tour of inspection of sacred buildings and public works to check whether they are sound in walls and roofs are in need of any rebuilding. He should see to it that whatever works have been started, they are finished as fully as the resources of that municipality permit, he should with full formality appoint attentive people as overseers of the works, and he should also in case of need provide military aides for the assistance of the overseers." *Aedes sacras et opera publica circumire inspiciendi gratia, an sarta tectaque sint vel an aliqua refectione indigeant, et si qua coepta sunt ut consummentur, prout vires eius rei publicae permittunt, curare debet curatoresque operum diligentes sollemniter praeponere, ministeria quoque militaria, si opus fuerit, ad curatores adiuvandos dare.*

provincials made their wishes known as soon as a governor arrived, either in the province or in a particular community.[9]

Several laws indicate that emperors too were involved in the decision-making of which projects to undertake, because they wanted to be consulted about the most important projects in the province, and ultimately they were the ones in whose name governors as their representatives carried out these projects:

> "Judges (= governors), moreover, who must restore public works, shall be admonished to report to Our knowledge works that have been completed rather than those that have been commenced, unless, perhaps, upon just ground, a petition must be presented that provision should be made for the accounts of certain expenditures, if perchance the funds for such expenditures should be lacking. Furthermore, the judges must call on Our advice in connection with the most important and largest works, not in connection with every trivial work."[10]

A governor's relatively short term of office, perhaps on average less than two years, seriously limited how much he could do, and must have influenced the decisions he made about projects he wanted to endorse. If, however, a project was not finished under a certain gov-

[9] An example from the Early Empire can possibly shed some light on this issue. When C. Terentius Tullius Geminus (*PIR*[1] *T* 0073), imperial legate of the emperor Claudius arrived in the province of Moesia Inferior for a term of three years in A.D. 50, a provincial delegation met him with a welcome and request from the people and city council of Histria, demonstrating that governors upon arrival could be presented with requests: "Your representatives Demetrios, Eschrion, Ota[. . .], Meidias, Dionysodorus, Hegesagoras, Aristagoras and Metrodorus met me in Tomis, and delivered your decree; after they demonstrated their goodwill toward the emperor, they rejoiced together for our health and arrival, holding the most serious possible conversation about those things you ordered them to discuss. Acknowledging therefore the attitude your city demonstrated toward us, I shall always try to become the creator of a benefaction to you" (= *I.Histriae* 68, ll. 52–60). οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν Δημήτριος, Ἐσχρίων, Ωτα. 3, [Μειδίας]/Διονυσόδωρος, Ἡγησαγόρας, Ἀρισταγόρας, [Μητρόδωρος ἐν]τυχόντες μοι ἐν Τόμει τὸ ψήφισμα ὑμῶν ἐπέδοσαν κα[ὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν Σεβας]/τὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιδειξάμενοι εὔνοιαν συνήσθησαν ἐ[πὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὑγεί]/ᾳ καὶ παρουσίᾳ σπουδεστάτην ⟨π⟩οιησάμενοι τ[ὴν περὶ ὧν ἐνετείλασ]/θε αὐτοῖς ὁμειλίαν· ἐπιγνοὺς οὖν ἣν καὶ πρὸς [ἡμᾶς ἐνεφάνισαν τῆς]/πόλεως ὑμῶν διάθεσιν πειράσομαι ἀεί τινος ὑ[μεῖν ἀγαθοῦ]/γενέσθαι παραίτιος. Thanks to Tom Elliott for generously sharing this material.

[10] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.2 of 321, *Monendi autem iudices sunt, qui instaurare publica opera debent, ut de effectis eis potius quam inchoatis ad nostram scientiam referant, nisi forte iusta ratione petendum sit aliquos, si forte defuerint, inpensarum titulos provideri. De rebus autem praecipuis maximisque, non de quibuscumque vilissimis nostrum debent interpellare consilium.* See also 15.1.37 of 398, "No judge shall burst forth into such rash lawlessness as to suppose that he should begin any public work without consulting Our Piety." *Nemo iudicem in id temeritatis erumpat, ut inconsulta pietate nostra aliquid operas existimet inchoandum.*

ernor, his successor was expected to finish the old project first, before starting something new.[11] Though a time frame needed to be set up for the completion of a project, there could be several reasons why a project would not be finished during one governor's term.[12] Perhaps his departure was premature, perhaps a natural disaster such as an earthquake had done so much damage to a city that the restoration took many years, or perhaps the project he had started was simply too large. In addition, as a law from the emperors Valens and Valentinian made clear, governors were not allowed to start a new building if there were old buildings that needed restoration: "by Our sanction a law has been promulgated, which, by its edict and authority, restrains all judges and governors of provinces from hastily undertaking any new works before they repair those which have been overcome by old age and have fallen apart."[13] However, the frequency with which laws forbidding this practice appear, seems to indicate that in practice governors started new buildings without consideration for the restoration of old buildings. Of course, from a governor's point of view, restoration seemed less prestigious than the initiation of a brand new building project.

One could argue, then, that it did not matter if a governor took on a project which could not possibly be completed during his term of office; but equally, if a governor did not finish a project, he could not put it on his 'record' as an accomplishment either, or even be publicly praised for it. Emperors did realize that new works would bring fame and glory to governors, and by law they permitted governors to take on certain projects of their own, as long as they had done a certain amount of restoration first:

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[11] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.3 of 326/362.

[12] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.17.2 of 349 to the Praetorian Prefect, "The following rule must be observed in the future, that in the provinces the judges of the respective districts and in the City of Rome Your Eminence, together with the pontiffs, shall inspect to see whether any monument should be restored by repairs, provided that, if permission should be finally granted, a time shall also be fixed for the completion of the work." *Hoc in posterum observando, ut in provinciis locorum iudices, in urbe Roma cum pontificibus tua celsitudo inspiciat, si per sarturas succurrendum sit alicui monumento, ut ita demum data licentia tempus etiam consummando operi statuatur.*

[13] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.15 of 365. *Lex sanctibus nobis rogata est, quae iudices omnes et rectores provinciarum edicto suo adque auctoritate cohibet aliquid novi operas adripere, priusquam ea, quae victa senio fatiscerent, repararent. Quae nunc etiam credidimus repetenda.* See also 15.1.14 of 365, 15.1.16 of 365, 15.1.17 of 365, 15.1.21 of 380, 15.1.29 of 393.

> "If a judge (= governor) should be sent to a province, he shall restore to their former state of splendor two thirds of the works which have crumbled through neglect or old age, and he shall construct as new a third thereof, if he wishes to provide for his own fame and glory."[14]

Second, a governor needed to allocate money for public works, because he himself would not finance a project, although some examples exist of governors who used some of their own money; but they remain exceptions.[15] Money came from three potential sources. Civic revenues like taxes were the first source to turn to, and it was decreed by law that one third of them needed to be put aside for financing the repair of public works:

> It is Our especial care that Our provincials shall not be burdened by superindictiones[16] or that public works should collapse through age and perish. The several municipal senates, accordingly, must know that they shall not presume to take for the repair of public works anything more than a third part of the regular tax which is customarily paid annually by places and farms of a municipality.[17]

Though certain projects, such as the restoration of walls, of a gate or baths, specifically benefited a particular community in the province, emperors seem to regard all the individual communities as part of one large collaboration. They believed cities should and could expect help from other cities: "if the government of that municipality does

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[14] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.20 of 380, *Iudex, qui ad provinciam destinatus, duas partes vel incuria vel vetustate conlabsas ad statum pristinum nitoris adducat adque tertiam construat novitatis, si tamen famae et propriis cupit laudibus providere.*

[15] See for instance, Libanius, *Oratio* 46.44, in which he denounces the governor Florentius (*PLRE* I, Florentius 9) for extravagant building, though paid for by himself. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.35 of 396, "We direct that if any palace, official residence of a judge, state storehouse, or stable and sheltering place for public animals should fall into ruin, such structure shall be repaired out of the resources of the governors (*rectores*) who have administered the judicial power from the time of the first consulship of Our sainted father to the present time." *Quidquid de palatiis aut praetoriis iudicum aut horreis aut stabulis et receptaculis animalium publicorum ruina labsum fuerit, id rectorum facultatibus reparari praecipimus, qui a primo consultatu divi genitoris nostri usque praesens tempus gesserunt iudiciariam potestatem.*

[16] Jones (1964), 451–2. *Superindictiones* were extra taxes that were levied if the annual level of taxes (= *indictio*) had been miscalculated or had been otherwise not sufficient.

[17] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.33 of 395, *Praecipua nobis cura est, ne aut provinciales nostri superindictionibus praegraventur aut opera publica pereant vetustate conlabsa. Singuli igitur ordines civitatum ad reparationem moenium publicorum nihil sibi amplius noverint praesumendum praeter tertiam portionem eius canonis, qui ex locis fundisque rei publicae quotannis conferri solet.* See also *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.32 of 395, 15.1.34 of 396, 9.17.2 of 349, 15.1.18 of 374.

not have available out of its third of the tax payment, as much as the expense of the structure they have undertaken requires, they shall have the right to take it out of the regular tax payment of other municipalities, of course, out of a third therefrom."[18] In theory, this law seems to represent a sense of solidarity in the province, but in practice, city rivalry might prevent communities from being willing to help each other.[19] Besides, when governors themselves were intent on beautifying certain communities more than others, some cities might feel 'slighted,' as becomes clear from a law addressed to the Praetorian Prefect Mamertinus in 365:

> We forbid further progress of the presumptuous conduct of judges who, to the ruin of the obscure towns, pretend that they are adorning the metropolitan or other very splendid cities, and thus seek the material of statues, marble works, or columns that they may transfer to them. It shall not be allowable to commit such deeds with impunity after the issuance of Our law, especially since We have ordered that no new structures shall be begun before the old ones are restored. If, indeed, any work should be commenced, other municipalities must be spared.[20]

Second, wealthy locals were expected to pay for or be involved in certain undertakings, if necessary in the form of one of the compulsory services which the upper classes were supposed to fulfill for their community.[21] People always tried to avoid this burden and

[18] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.18 of 374, *Si civitatis eius res publica tantum in tertia pensionis parte non habeat, quantum coeptae fabricae poscat inpendium, ex aliarum civitatum rei publicae canone praesumant, tertiae videlicet portionis.*

[19] See for instance Libanius, *Oratio* 33. 23–23, in which the governor Tisamenus offended the city of Antioch by turning to the neighboring community of Beroea. See a discussion of this situation in the section *The perception of benefactions* of this chapter.

[20] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.14 of 365, *Praesumptionem iudicum ulterius prohibemus, qui in eversionem abditorum oppidorum metropoles vel splendidissimas civitates ornare se fingunt transferendorum signorum vel marmorum vel columnarum materiam requirentes. Quod post legem nostram sine poena admittere non licebit, praesertim cum neque novam constitui fabricam iusserimus, antequam vetera reformentur, et, si adeo aliquid fuerit inchoandum, ab aliis civitatibus conveniat temperari.* See also *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.37 of 398 for the same order that governors were not allowed to take down materials from buildings in certain municipalities for the construction of buildings in other communities without the consent of the Praetorian Prefect. Governors who were caught acting against this law, would be fined three pounds of gold. Cf. also *Codex Theodosianus* 9.17.2 of 349, in which governors were not allowed to use the pretext of public buildings to tear down material from tombs.

[21] Libanius, *Epistula* 1392, "So work on his greatness, not by making Auxentius a syndikos (think of the tears at Daphne), but by promoting the rebuilding of the

obtain exemption from governors. When too many people were granted these exemptions, especially obtained illicitly from a governor who wanted to exempt powerful individuals as a type of benefaction, fewer resources were available for the completion of these projects. Emperors tried to stop this development with strict regulations.[22] On the other hand, emperors also showed understanding for rich locals who were pressured into unlawful compulsory services by governors. In 361 the emperor Constantius and his Caesar Julian ordered that the property of senators should not be harassed for these compulsory services.[23]

Third, if local communities were not able to finance projects completely, governors could with a petition appeal to the emperor for some special imperial funds: ". . . unless, perhaps, upon just ground, a petition must be presented that provision should be made for the accounts of certain expenditures, if perchance the funds for such expenditures should be lacking."[24]

One could argue that the governor was not really a 'benefactor' in respect to public works, because he was simply fulfilling his duty as governor, prescribed by law, and with money from the provincials themselves. I would argue that this perception is justified from a practical point of view, but a governor's benefaction also consisted in how he pleased provincials in his choice of the projects, and how he used his sense of justice to allocate the money for them.[25] When a governor chose to finance a civic project with the assistance of wealthy provincials, it was particularly important that he was able to convince the provincials that he made the right choice of project and was in fact bestowing a benefaction upon the citizens as a whole.

temples or some similar project through him, for which you will find that the man raises up greater things at less expense." ἐργάζου δὴ τὸ ὕψος σύνδικον μὲν τὸν Αὐξέντιον μὴ ποιῶν μεμνημένος τῶν ἐν Δάφνῃ δακρύων, ἱερῶν δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἤ τι τοιοῦτον δι' αὐτοῦ θεραπέυων, οὗ τὸν ἄνδρα εὑρήσεις μείζονα ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἐγείροντα δαπάνης. Auxentius (*PLRE* I, Auxentius 5) was a *principalis* in Tarsus in the province of Cilicia. A *syndikos* was involved in the adjudication and arbitration of civil lawsuits.

[22] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.5 of 361.

[23] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.7 of 361.

[24] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.2 of 321, . . . *nisi forte iusta ratione petendum sit aliquos, si forte defuerint, inpensarum titulos provideri.*

[25] According to Menander Rhetor (416), governors' encouragement of city development (τὸ πόλεις ἐγείρειν) was part of their virtue of justice. See Roueché (1998a), 33.

Once a public work was finished, a governor was not allowed to attach his own name to it, because officially he acted in the emperor's name: "If any of the judges (= governors) should inscribe their own names, rather than the name of Our Eternity, on any completed public work, they shall be held guilty of high treason."[26] One way for governors, nonetheless, to connect their name to a project, was thus to set up an inscription honoring the emperors for the project. The mention of a governor's own name and title could then serve as a public mention of his own achievement:

> With good fortune. For the health and safety and fortune and victory and eternal endurance of your masters, Flavius Julius Constantius, pious unvanquished Augustus, and [Flavius Claudius ?Iulianus], the most renowned and most noble Caesar, Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxius, *perfectissimus praeses* and former Cretarch, built [?the gate] from the foundations of the splendid [metropolis of ?the Aphrodisians], kin to the Cretans.[27]

Provincials were not restricted by the imperial regulations, and could publicly praise governors for the accomplishment of these projects. Flavius Areianus Alypius (*PLRE* I, Alypius 12), governor of Pamphylia in the late third or early fourth century, was praised for repairing the harbor and city of Side.[28] In the mid-fifth century, the people of Cyprus honored their governor Claudius Leontichus (*PLRE* II, Leontichus 2) with an inscription for rebuilding the walls of the city of Lapethus.[29]

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[26] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.31 of 394, *si qui iudices perfecto operi suum potius nomen quam nostrae perennitas scribserint, maiestatis teneantur obnoxii.*

[27] Wadd. 1626 = *MAMA* 8.426, Robert, *Hell.* IV, 158–163. See also Roueché (1989), n. 19, pp. 35–39, for a discussion of this inscription. The translation is by Roueché. The inscription was found cut on the large lintel over the west gate of the city wall, on the outer (west) face. Cf. *CIL* 3.14149 from Kasr Bchr in which Aurelius Asclepiades (*PLRE* I, Asclepiades 6), the governor of Arabia in 293–95 is mentioned as the governor during whose governorship a castra is finished for the emperors; and *Syria* VI (1925), 230–31 = *AE* 1926, 148 = *SEG* 7.256, which refers to the rebuilding of a bridge for the emperors by the governor of Syria in 348, Flavius Antonius Hierocles (*PLRE* I, Hierocles 3).

[28] *AE* 1958, 201: Φλ. Ἀρηιανὸν Ἀλύπιον τὸν διασημ(ότατον) ἡγεμόνα τὸν κτίστην τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῆς πόλεως Εὐρηκλῆς ὁ καὶ Καύστριος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εὐεργέτην. "Eurekles who is also called Caestrius honored Fl. Areianus Alypius the most distinguished governor, founder of the harbor and of the city, benefactor to his fatherland." See also Nollé (1993), 347–51.

[29] Mitford (1953), 136–139, n. 10: ἐκτίσθη τῆ τείχη/ἐπί Κλ(αυδίου) Λεοντίχου/τοῦ λαμπροτάτου/ὑπατκοῦ ἀπὸ θε-/μελίων τῆ λαμπρᾶ/Λαπηθίων πόλει./Εὐτύχει, Ἰλλύρι. "The walls were rebuilt from their foundations under Claudius Leontichus, the

Apart from his anticipated involvement in public works, a governor could also initiate projects, especially in the case of natural disasters. In times of need, when famine broke out, an earthquake occurred, or war had caused destruction, provincials could expect a governor to step in and help, though, again, he would not necessarily spend his own money. The expectation, however, was that as an official with the appropriate authority he would try to solve the problems. When famine ravaged in Edessa in the year 500, the governor Demosthenes (*PLRE* II, Demosthenes 3) went in person to the emperor to ask for help, and got a considerable sum of money to divide among the poor.[30] He also put down mattresses in the bathhouses so that people could use them as shelters, and the nobles of the city played a role in the relief efforts as well. The fact that Demosthenes actually left his province during his term of office is the more remarkable, because governors were not supposed to leave their province.[31]

A few years later in 505, after a plague, destruction of war and more famine in Edessa, the governor Eulogius (*PLRE* II, Eulogius 7) "was diligent in rebuilding it, [and the emperor gave] him two hundred pounds for the expenses of reconstruction. He rebuilt and renewed the [entire] outer wall encircling the city, and also renewed and restored the two aqueducts coming into (it) and completed the

*clarissimus consularis* for the beautiful city of Lapethus. Good fortune, Illyrius." Mitford argues that the last line must be read as an acclamation, and that Illyrius could have been a bishop of Lapethus, although there is no firm evidence for his assumption. Changes in epigraphic practice in the Later Roman Empire: Roueché (1997), 357.

[30] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 42–43, "(42) When Demosthenes the governor went up to the emperor, he told him about this distress, and the emperor gave him a considerable sum of money to divide among the poor. When he got (back) from him to Edessa, he marked many of them on their necks with seals and gave each of them a pound of bread per day. However, they could not live (on this), for they had been debilitated by the distress of hunger which consumed them. [. . .] (43) The governor blocked the gates of the porticoes (*basilikai*) at the winter bathhouse (*demosion*) and put down straw and matting in it. (People) slept there, but it was not enough for them. When the nobles of the city saw this, they also set up <sick-rooms>, and many went in and found shelter in them."

[31] This was not the first time that Demosthenes left the province during his term. The previous year he had also visited the emperor after a crisis in the province with the collection of the *synteleia* (= payment of the land and capitation taxes) which had caused the bishop to go and plead with the emperor (Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 39). Then he left the command of the province to Eusebius (*PLRE* II, Eusebius 21). Even though Joshua does not mention if Demosthenes leaves Eusebius in charge of Osrhoene again, he must have left the province's government into some official's hands.

public hall which had collapsed, renewed his own *praetorium*, and did a great deal of restoration throughout the city."[32]

It is important to bear in mind that in these situations of crisis a governor would be praised for trying to solve the problem. His involvement in that sense can be seen as a benefaction. It is equally important to bear in mind that these 'extra' projects were not unique to governors. Members of the elite or bishops were often also involved in these undertakings. As the case of Demosthenes illustrates, nobles set up sick-rooms for the poor to bring some relief. In the situation of Eulogius, the emperor gave him money for restoration, but the "the emperor also gave twenty pounds to the bishop for expenses and the renewal of the wall."[33] The involvement of bishops in works of charity and benefactions is to be expected in this period. Increasingly, they had become the most prominent figures in provincial communities, were in charge of financial resources, and were recognized accordingly by the imperial government.[34] They were regarded as 'lovers of the poor' much more so than governors were, according to Brown.[35]

Non-material benefactions by governors are all those actions that could assist provincials in ways that do not manifest themselves in a material sense and that are not laid down by law. In general, non-material benefactions can be defined as 'favors' that are granted to individuals, groups or communities as a result of a successful appeal.

These benefactions were based on specific situations and called for the personal involvement of governors. Because non-material benefactions were not laid down by law, the successful outcome of a request for them depended strongly on the individual willingness of governors. These benefactions had a more personal character than material ones, because you needed some type of personal contact

[32] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 87. Two hundred pounds in gold or 14,400 solidi. This public hall is the same as the one Alexander started to build only a few years earlier. See also Trombley and Watt (2000), 106, n. 494.

[33] Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicon* 87.

[34] Hunt, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 257, and 263. Liebeschuetz (2001), 141.

[35] Brown (2002), 1, "for the Christian bishop was held by contemporaries to owe his position in no small part to his role as the guardian of the poor. He was the 'lover of the poor' *par excellence*," and 88–9, "Nor were such governors encouraged to look as if they were particularly loving to the poor. [. . .] They were not men given to sentiment. Rather, they had been sent from Constantinople to maintain law and order. [. . .] It was only when such persons became bishops they were expected to show great 'love for the poor'."

with a governor if he were to bestow a favor upon you.[36] If you did not know the governor, then you would look for a patron who would have easier access to him, as the correspondence of Libanius, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus illustrates.

Two categories of non-material benefactions can be identified. First, governors received many letters of introduction and recommendation, although the presentation of such letters was not confined to governors, but was part of the traditions of the Roman upper classes and the system of patronage.[37] During his governorship of Armenia in 361, Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) received a letter from Libanius: "Proaeresius who with his eloquence blessed the whole world, has a relative in Cucusus, Philastrius, a city councilor. I would be pleased for him to enjoy your goodwill as being a man of worth."[38] Then, when Maximus became governor of Galatia, Libanius sent him another letter in 363, this time requesting an audience for Encratius whom Libanius knew well and who "seemed to me an excellent fellow, the sort of man who could be trusted and befriended," and with the wish that he would "become great through the favor."[39] These letters of introduction and recommendation did not need to include more than a few words, and could be fairly standard in expression.[40]

Second, provincials requested help in specific situations in which governors alone could solve the problems. Gregory of Nazianzus corresponded with several governors asking for help for provincials.

[36] See Cotton (1981), 3–4, for an analogy with the letters of Pliny and Fronto, "which show these persons working as intercessors and exercising their personal influence with the Emperor in order to secure favors, privileges, statuses, promotions and appointments for their friends and protégés."

[37] Cotton (1981), 3. That letters of recommendation for provincials had been written as long as the Roman Empire existed, is shown by the correspondence of Cicero, who wrote many such letters on behalf of citizens and provincials. For instance, *Ad Familiares* IX, 13; XIII, 4; 5; 7; 8; 36; 66.

[38] Libanius, *Epistula* 275, τοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκ λόγων εὖ ποιοῦντος Προαιρεσίου συγγενὴς ἐν Κουκουσῷ Φιλάστριος πολιτεύεται. τοῦτον καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν βουλοίμην ἂν τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τυγχάνειν εὐνοίας.

[39] Libanius, *Epistula* 1381, μοι ἔδοξε εἶναι χρηστὸς καὶ οἷος εἰκότως ἂν πιστεύεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖσθαι, and γενέσθω διὰ τῆς χάριτος μέγας. Apart from the two letters discussed here briefly, Libanius wrote many other letters of introduction and recommendation. See also *Epistula* 298, 696, 772, and 779. Also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 106.

[40] MacMullen (1988), 98. For instance, *P. Ryl.* 263, see Moscadi (1970), 89 and 101, and Cotton (1981), 40–44.

He wrote to Olympius (*PLRE* I, Olympius 10),[41] the governor of Cappadocia Secunda in 382, for instance, to ask for assistance for the widow Philomena in a court case,[42] and to request another job for Nicobulus, the husband of his niece Alypiana, who could not take the loneliness at a remote station of the postal service:

> I found my son Nicobulus anxious because of worries about the *cursus publicus* and because of the continuing sitting at the station, a person (whose health) is weak and not used to these things, and who cannot bear the loneliness. Please, place him somewhere else, anywhere that pleases you; for he is prepared in every way to serve your power; but, if possible, free him of his worries.[43]

Curial duties were a delicate issue in the fourth and fifth centuries. Increasingly, local elites tried to avoid these duties because they were not financially able to carry them out.[44] Many provincials sought exemption from these duties from governors as individual benefactions.[45] Even if one had obtained exemption from curial duties, rapid succession of governors could result in unpredictability of favors, as the case of an older man from Cappadocia illustrates. In 372, Basil wrote to the governor of Cappadocia (*PLRE* I, Anonymous 123) with the request to honor the exemption of this elderly man, whom "an Imperial decree had exempted from public burden."[46] The governor had confirmed the imperial favor, but now he wanted the old man's three-year old grandson, for whom the grandfather had the care and responsibility after his parents had died, to perform some curial

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[41] Hauser-Meury (1960), 137–39, Van Dam (1996), 64–6, and Van Dam (2002), 84–7, for more discussion on Olympius.

[42] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 104, see chapter two, n. 34.

[43] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 126, Τὸν υἱὸν Νικόβουλον σφόδρα εὗρον τῇ τοῦ δρόμου φροντίδι, καὶ τῇ τῆς μονῆς προσεδρείᾳ στενοχωρούμενον, ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀσθενῆ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν οὐ φέροντα. Τούτῳ, πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ᾖ σοι φίλον, χρήσασθαι θέλησον· καὶ γὰρ πρόθυμος εἰς πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ· ταύτης δὲ, εἰ δυνατὸν, ἐλευθέρωσον τῆς φροντίδος. See M.-M. Hauser-Meury (1960) for a brief prosopographical description of Nicobulus who was married to Alypiana, the niece of Gregory. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula* 1392, in which Libanius asked the governor of Syria Alexander (*PLRE* I, Alexander 5) to change his intention of appointing Auxentius (*PLRE* I, Auxentius 5) *syndikos* or defensor in Tarsus which would involve adjudication, because he would be better suited to supervise building projects.

[44] See Liebeschuetz (2001), especially chapter three on post-curial civic government, 103–36, in which he discusses the decline and fall of curial government.

[45] See for instance Libanius, *Epistula* 150, 308, 715.

[46] Basil, *Epistula* 84, ὃν ἀφῆκε μὲν τῶν δημοσίων γράμμα βασιλικόν.

duties. In practice this meant that the old man would have to fulfill the obligations. In an attempt to make the governor change his mind, Basil tried to appeal to his common sense:

> But how, respected Sir, did you inadvertently drag him again into the midst of public affairs by another way? For when you commanded his grandson, not yet in his fourth year, to take his place in the municipal senate, what else are you doing than to drag the old man into public affairs afresh in the person of his grandchild? But now we beseech you to take pity upon the ages of both, and to exempt both on account of what is worthy of pity in each. [. . .] Grant, therefore, a favor both consistent with the laws in agreement with Nature, ordering that exemption be granted to the one until he reaches man's estate, and that the other be allowed to await his death in his bed.[47]

Non-material benefactions were not restricted to the geographical boundaries of one province or the time period of one governor's term of office. When provincials of some social standing traveled from one province to another, they might want to appeal for the support of the governor of the province they were traveling through or to. Apart from his own letter of introduction, Libanius requested the governor of Phoenicia, Andronicus (*PLRE* I, Andronicus 3) to treat Auxentius (*PLRE* I, Auxentius 5), who was traveling through the metropolis of Phoenicia, Tyre, to Palaestina Prima, as his friend and provide him with a letter of introduction for the governor of Palestine, Hypatius (*PLRE* I, Hypatius 1):

> You know what I said, pointing out the lad to you when you were leaving us, that he would soon be arriving in Phoenicia and I thought that he ought to be considered one of your friends, and you nodded in assent. He has arrived, so fulfill your promises by looking kindly upon his presence and dispatching him with your own letter.[48]

[47] Basil, *Epistula* 84, δι' ἑτέρας δὲ ὁδοῦ πάλιν πῶς αὐτὸν ἔλαθες, ὦ θαυμάσιε, παραγαγὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον; τὸν γὰρ υἱδοῦν αὐτοῦ, οὔπω τέταρτον ἔτος ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγοντα, κελεύσας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μετέχειν, τί ἄλλο καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν πρεσβύτην διὰ τοῦ ἐκγόνου πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παράγεις εἰς τὰ δημόσια; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἱκετεύομεν ἀμφοτέρων σε λαβεῖν τῶν ἡλικιῶν οἶκτον, καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἀνεῖναι διὰ τὰ προσόντα ἑκατέρῳ ἐλεεινά. [. . .] δὸς οὖν χάριν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀκόλουθον καὶ τῇ φύσει συμβαίνουσαν, τῷ μὲν προστάξας μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡλικίας συγχωρηθῆναι, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἀναμένειν τὸν θάνατον.

[48] Libanius, *Epistula* 156 of ?360, οἶσθα δέ, ὅτι παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξιόντι τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπιδείξας ἥξειν τε αὐτὸν ἔφην εἰς Φοινίκην αὐτίκα καὶ τῶν φίλων ἠξίουν ἕνα νομισθῆναι, σὺ δὲ ἔνευσας. ἥκει δὴ καὶ πλήρου τὰς ὑποσχέσεις παρόντα μὲν ἡδέως ὁρῶν, ἐκπέμπων δὲ μετὰ γραμμάτων. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula* 625, which Libanius wrote to the governor of Euphratensis Priscianus (*PLRE* I, Priscianus 1) introducing

Libanius might have expected that Andronicus, as the governor of Hypatius' home province, would have some influence with Hypatius. Besides, Hypatius could and did expect a benefaction in return from Andronicus. Though he was in Palestine for a temporary governorship, Hypatius still had property in his hometown Tyre in Phoenicia. Apparently, when he got involved in some legal dispute over this property, he expected Andronicus to look after his interests, but Andronicus disappointed him and Libanius needed to remind Andronicus of his 'duties.'[49] This again is an indication of how intricate the system of benefactions was, and how a benefaction never stood on its own, as Libanius realized as well: "You ought to reward a man who is like yourself in the art of governance. For if he honors the same things as you do, he is undoubtedly gratifying to you, and you owe a favor to the man who gratifies you."[50]

If provincials wanted the governor to favor them and their family, it was not enough to have only one governor benefit them, since governors were at their posts for such a relatively brief period of time. Libanius asked Acacius (*PLRE* I, Acacius 8) governor of Galatia in 361 to favor the house of Maximus and his son Hyperechius.[51] When the new governor Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) appeared in 362, once more Libanius sent the governor a letter, with the same request: "For my sake, make the house of Maximus the most blessed among the Galatians, honoring his wife's virtue, his own gentle courtesy, and their child (= Hyperechius), who is dearer to me than all of them".[52] Rapid rotation of governors caused provincials some

Seleucus (*PLRE* I, Seleucus 1) who traveled to Euphratensis and requesting: "Knowing that it is better for him to depart than to stay, if you are not kindly disposed toward him, he is hoping to effect through my letter that you will be kind to him." εἰδὼς δὲ ὡς, ἂν μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρως ἔχῃς, ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ κρεῖττον ἢ μένειν, ὅπως ἥμερος ἔσῃ, πράττει διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων.

[49] Libanius, *Epistula* 158 (initial request) and 159 (light rebuke for neglect). See Bradbury (2004), 128–29.

[50] Libanius, *Epistula* 159, δεῖ γάρ σε νομίζειν μισθὸν ὀφείλειν τῷ προσομοίῳ σοι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν. εἰ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ τιμᾷ, χαρίζεται δήπου σοι, τῷ χαριζομένῳ δὲ χάριν ὀφείλεις.

[51] Libanius, *Epistula* 298 (initial request), 651 (thanking for support).

[52] Libanius, *Epistula* 779, αὐτῶν δὲ μοι Γαλατῶν εὐδαιμονεστάτην ποίει τὴν οἰκίαν Μαξίμου γυναικός τε τιμῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιείκειαν παῖδά τε τὸν αὐτῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντων ὄντα ἐμοὶ φίλτατον. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula* 1392, in which Libanius asks for a benefaction for Auxentius, which is apparently not the first time: "I was able to instruct the governors who he is, and those who saw that he was a good man honored him with words and deeds that showed honor." ἐδυνήθην δὲ τοὺς

uncertainty in respect to benefactions. If a governor was generous with benefactions, his departure brought insecurity about how the next governor would act. If, on the other hand, a governor was not kind towards them, they could hope for a better governor soon.

### *Provincial pressure and manipulation*

> O greatest of governors, o sweetest day, the day of your coming! Now the sun shines brighter, now we seem to behold a happy day dawn out of darkness. Soon we shall put up statues. Soon we poets and writers and orators will sing your virtues and spread their fame throughout mankind. Let theaters be opened, let us hold festivals, let us avow our gratitude to the emperors and to the gods.[53]

With these words of great expectations and promises, provincials would flatter a governor upon arrival in his province, assuming that they followed Menander Rhetor's advice on speeches of welcome for governors. In their attempt to obtain benefactions, provincials manipulated governors as soon as they arrived in their province and were received with a welcome ceremony. Governors must have felt pressure right from the start. Provincials hoped that they would bestow benefactions, and did not make a secret of that expectation.

Governors, especially when they wanted to use their office as a stepping-stone to higher office, knew that they had to please provincials, in particular those with power and influence to thwart their ambitions. Men like Libanius, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus realized what position governors were in, and put enormous pressure on them to grant their petitions. This did not mean, however, that they could be offensive toward governors. Respect and a kind approach were the keys to a successful relationship. In addi-

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ἄρχοντας διδάσκειν, ὅστις ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ χρηστὸν ὁρῶντες ἐκόσμουν ῥήμασί τε καὶ πράγμασι τιμὴν ἐμφανίζουσι.

[53] Menander Rhetor, 381, ὦ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς, ἡδίστης δὲ ἡμέρας, καθ' ἣν ἐπέστης· νῦν ἡλίου φῶς φαιδρότερον· νῦν ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος ζόφου προσβλέπειν δοκοῦμεν λευκὴν ἡμέραν· μετὰ μικρὸν ἀναθήσομεν εἰκόνας, μετὰ μικρὸν ποιηταὶ καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ ῥήτορες ᾄσουσι τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ διαδώσουσιν εἰς γένη πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἀνοιγέσθω θέατρα, πανηγύρεις ἄγωμεν· ὁμολογῶμεν χάριτας καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ κρείττοσι. Cf. 378, "When night and darkness covered the world, you were seen as the sun, and at once dissolved all the difficulties." εἶτα ἐπάξεις ὅτι ὥσπερ νυκτὸς καὶ ζόφου τὰ πάντα κατειληφότος αὐτὸς καθάπερ ἥλιος ὀφθεὶς πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ δυσχερῆ διέλυσας.

tion, provincials needed to give governors a reason to listen to their requests and to help solve their problems. In the end, governors were not obliged to help, and could even choose to be bad governors, as Libanius pointed out when he praised a governor who had 'chosen' to be good: "For how is it not virtue to wish to be good when it is in one's power to become bad?"[54] In practice, governors surely had concerns about their reputation, and would try to help provincials when possible. Basil connected the issue of how provincials should communicate with officials such as governors with the need for governors to act as benefactors for their own survival, when he appealed to a governor in Cappadocia:

> For we ought not to converse in the same manner with a physician as with any ordinary person, nor, obviously, with a governor in the same way as with a person in private station, but from the skill of the one and from the authority of the other we should try to derive some benefit for ourselves. Therefore, just as a shadow always pursues those who walk in the sun, even though they themselves do not so wish, so too in the intercourse with governors there is some small gain, assistance for the afflicted.[55]

Manipulation and pressure are different concepts, and their distinction also becomes visible in provincials' approach to governors. Manipulation can be witnessed in the use of kind and flattering words to induce a benevolent frame of mind in a governor. It manifests itself in the attempt to influence him in such way that he would do something he would otherwise not be inclined to do. In written appeals for a governor's generosity provincials would address him in a respectful manner, not only at the opening, but also throughout their letter. When a governor was addressed as "Your Perfection," "Your Goodness," "Your Nobility," "Your Magnanimity," and was endowed in a petition with the image of a man of great virtues and

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[54] Libanius, *Epistula* 458, πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀρετὴ τὸ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ γενέσθαι κακὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐθέλειν εἶναι; Libanius here praised Flavius Eusebius (*PLRE* I, Eusebius 40), the former governor of the Hellespont, and at the moment of writing in 355 about to embark upon a governorship in Bithynia.

[55] Basil, *Epistula* 84, οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐντευκτέον ἡμῖν ἰατρῷ τε ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῷ τυχόντι, οὔτε ἄρχοντι δηλονότι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ· ἀλλὰ πειρατέον τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τέχνης, τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπολαύειν εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥσπερ οὖν τοῖς ἐν ἡλίῳ βαδίζουσιν ἕπεται πάντως ἡ σκιά, κἂν αὐτοὶ μὴ προέλωνται, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὁμιλίαις ἀκολουθεῖ τι καὶ παρεμπόρευμα, ἡ τῶν καμνόντων βοήθεια. The addressee of the letter was probably governor (*PLRE* I, Anonymus 123) of Cappadocia in 371.

excellence, and as the 'savior' provincials had been waiting for, how could he refuse their requests?[56] Van Dam, in his discussion of the appeals of the Cappadocian Fathers, noted: "Just as public acclamations put enormous pressure on magistrates and even emperors to respond favorably, so these compliments virtually compelled the governors to support Basil's and Gregory's requests."[57] Both Basil and Gregory realized that it would be best, as always, to ask for a favor in person, and not by a letter carried by someone else, and they apologized for absence on several occasions.[58]

In the case of pressure, on the other hand, provincials tried to make a governor feel guilty, if he did not bestow benefactions they asked him for, by speaking of terrible consequences for them because of his failure to support them. This is different from manipulation

[56] "Your Perfection" (σου ἡ τελειότης), "Your Goodness" (σου ἡ ἀγαθωσύνη), "Your Nobility" (σου ἡ καλοκἀγαθία), "Your Magnanimity" (σου ἡ μεγαλόνοια). Basil, *Epistula* 63, 84, 112, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 14, 224. For the image of savior see, for instance, Menander Rhetor, 381; Libanius, *Epistula* 159. See also Van Dam (2002), 83, for a discussion of strategies used by Basil and Gregory to manipulate their governors.

[57] Van Dam (2002), 83.

[58] Basil, *Epistula* 112, "To perform in person the mission which I have thus far hesitated to fulfill by a communication, since I judged myself too insignificant a person to obtain such a favor, and at the same time considered that no one in pleading another's cause could win over an official or a private citizen so well by stating his case in writing as by being present in person, orally disposing of some of his client's charges, pleading excuse for others, and asking pardon for the rest—none of which things could easily be done by letter." τοῦ τὴν πρεσβείαν δι' ἐμαυτοῦ πληρῶσαι, ἣν ἀποστεῖλαι τέως ἀπώκνουν, μικρότερον ἐμαυτὸν κρίνων ἢ ὥστε τοιαύτης τυγχάνειν χάριτος, καὶ ἅμα λογιζόμενος, ὅτι οὔτε ἄρχοντα οὔτε ἰδιώτην ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἄν τις λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων πείσειεν οὕτως, ὡς αὐτὸς παρών, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπολυόμενος τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἱκετεύων, τοῖς δὲ συγγνώμην παραιτούμενος ἔχειν· ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν ῥᾳδίως δι' ἐπιστολῆς γένοιτο. Also Basil, *Epistula* 137. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 104, 106. Cf. the analogy with the orator Aelius Aristides, who was supposed to give a welcome speech in 179 upon the arrival of the governor of Asia in Smyrna after the city had suffered from an earthquake, but was not able to deliver it himself: "I should have particularly wished, Excellency, that the city appear such as you left it; but if not, that I were present to deliver my speech, so that I might profit in two ways, by being with you and by duly enjoying the city now restored for us. Since it has turned out otherwise, I did not think that I ought to be debarred from everything, but that there should be some trace of our voice for you to recognize as well as for those Greeks who are there, both citizens and visitors." (translation by Behr, 1981) ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πόλιν οἵαν κατέλιπες τοιαύτνην φανῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, παρὼν αὐτὸς ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρως ἐκέρδαινον, σοί τε συνὼν καὶ τῆς νῦν ἀνιούσης ἡμῖν πόλεως ἀπολαύων τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω συμβέβηκεν, οὐ τοῦ γε παντὸς εἴργεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἴχνος γέ τι φωνῆς ἡμετέρας σοί τε γενέθαι γνωρίσαι καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι τε πολῖται καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι.

with kind words, when there is not a direct visible consequence; whereas in the case of pressure it could almost look like a threat to a governor, as if he was not virtuous, as if he caused suffering to the petitioners: "For indeed it is not in keeping with your character either to allow men to suffer hardships, or to belittle the laws, or to refuse to yield to petitions of your friends if the personal affairs of your subjects crowd upon your attention."[59]

Words alone might not be enough incentive for a governor, and provincial pleas often came with a promise in return for the favor. Menander's citation at the beginning of this section illustrates the different possibilities of provincials' gratitude for benefactions of governors: statues, festivals and songs of praise.[60] In particular, this last form of gratitude, songs of praise, are not only promised, but also reported by provincials, as Libanius explained:

> The account of these matters has already circulated to the boundaries of the empire, and everyone sings aloud that neither could a son have been solicitous toward his father, nor a father toward his son. It would be certainly a long story, and they say, one for an 'Arabian flute-player,' to recount all the fears and dangers from which you freed my fellow-citizens through me, declaring that if they should make requests of you through anyone else, they would be wasting their breath, and how you settled the affairs of your Council in such a way as to honor me and you, both with the same acclamations.[61]

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[59] Basil, *Epistula* 84, οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ σοῦ τρόπου ἢ κακῶς πράττοντας περιιδεῖν, ἢ νόμων ὀλιγωρῆσαι, ἢ φίλοις μὴ εἶξαι καθικετεύουσι, κἂν τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων σε περιεστήκει πράγματα. Cf. Lib. *Epistula* 150 of 360, When Libanius asked the governor of Phoenicia, Andronicus (*PLRE* I, Andronicus 3) for a favor, he warned him of injustice looming on the horizon: "And he will appear of little worth if, while you have charge of the province and I have the ability to influence you, his future father-in-law should suffer injustice, for it will be thought that Apringius is despised by me, since you would never have refused me a favor." φανεῖται δὲ φαῦλος, εἰ σοῦ μὲν ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐμοῦ δὲ σε πείθειν ἔχοντος ὁ μέλλων αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ἀδικήσεται. δόξει γὰρ Ἀπρίγγιος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι· σὲ γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ποτε μὴ δοῦναι χάριν ἐμοί.

[60] Songs or poems of praise are discussed in chapter four and statues in chapter five.

[61] Libanius, *Epistula* 838 of 363 to Alexander (*PLRE* I, Alexander 5), governor of Syria, καὶ τούτων ὁ λόγος ἤδη πρὸς τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔσχατα ἐρρύηκε, καὶ πάντες ᾄδουσιν ὡς οὔτ' ἂν εἰς πατέρα παῖς οὔτ' ἂν εἰς παῖδα πατὴρ οὕτως ἐγένετο πρόθυμος. φόβους μὲν δὴ καὶ κινδύνους ὁπόσους δι' ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολίταις ἔλυσας ἐνδειξάμενος ὡς, εἰ δι' ἄλλου του δεήσονται σου, ληροῦσι, καὶ ὡς εἰς τοῦτο τὴν βουλὴν ἡμῖν κατέστησας ὥστε ταῖς αὐταῖς εὐφημίας ἐμέ τε καὶ σὲ κοσμεῖν, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν καὶ αὐλητοῦ φασιν Ἀραβίου. See also Libanius, *Epistula* 458, 459, 1392; Basil, *Epistula* 63.

If a governor did not react to a first appeal, provincials might remind him of their earlier request a second, even a third, time. When Libanius wanted the governor of Arabia, Belaeus (*PLRE* I, p. 160) to support Orion, a former governor in serious trouble, he wrote: "Three times now I have made this point to you: first by letter, then to you personally, and now as on the first occasion."[62]

Despite tools like manipulation and pressure, ultimately, perhaps, Gregory encapsulated the most important wish of provincials with a simple, but explicit and powerful message at the end of one of his letters: "Be a benefactor."[63]

### *The perception of benefactions*

Governors needed to be cautious about the perception of their benefactions. They might mean well, but if provincials did not perceive their conduct as compassionate and concerned, governors could be in trouble, as the case of Nicentius (*PLRE* I, Nicentius 1) demonstrates. As governor of Syria in 358, he had been a fair judge and had, according to Libanius, made the city 'merry', but had made the mistake of expecting the people to acclaim him publicly for his good deeds. Supposedly, some complaint had come to the ears of the Praetorian Prefect of the East, Hermogenes (*PLRE* I, Hermogenes 3), and Nicentius was fined, but worst of all was the disgrace this had caused, as Libanius argued in his defense.[64]

Furthermore, governors would not want to appear to give preference to one provincial town over the other, for instance in assigning building projects, or to favor one particular group of provincials

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[62] Libanius, *Epistula* 819, ταῦτα δὲ τρὶς ἤδη πρὸς σὲ βοῶ· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν γράμμασιν, ἔπειτα πρὸς παρόντα, νῦν δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον. Libanius' first letter was *Epistula* 763.

[63] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 14, εὐεργέτησον.

[64] Libanius, *Epistula* 21, "Nicentius, I repeat, who has caused justice to dwell among us, expelled violence, and made our city merry, has been visited with a fine, when he expected acclamation for his services. This fine causes him financial embarrassment, for Nicentius is a poor man despite all his career in office, but it involves something worse than the embarrassment, namely disgrace." Νικέντιον [. . .], τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα, δι᾽ ὃν ἐπιδημεῖ μὲν ἡ δίκη, βία δὲ οἴχεται, πανήγυρις δὲ ἡμὶν ἡ πόλις, εὐφημιάς ἐλπίζοντα περιέστηκε ζημία λυποῦσα μὲν καὶ τῇ βλάβῃ, πένης γὰρ ἡμιν ἐπὶ τοσαύταις ἀρχαῖς ὁ Νικέντιος, ἔχουσα δέ τι πικρότερον τῆν βλάβης τὴν ἀδοξίαν. By the end of the year 358 he was dismissed by the same Praetorian Prefect who had fined him, for failure to supply the army with provisions.

more than another. Emperors were aware of this concern as well, and a law from 365 addressed this specific issue, prohibiting governors from seizing building material from 'obscure' towns in the province to use for the adornment of the metropolis or other major cities.[65]

Tisamenus (*PLRE* I, 916–917), governor of Syria in 386, infuriated Libanius when he offended the city of Antioch, proud metropolis of the province.[66] When it came to filling the voluntary position of Syriarch, whose duty, among other things, it was to organize a great beast show for the seventeen cities of Syria, Tisamenus failed to find a *decurion* in Antioch, although as governor he should have enlisted someone in Antioch, either voluntarily or by force.[67] The governor then turned to an 'outsider' from the city of Beroea; a slap in the face and great offence for the confident metropolis. As its spokesman, Libanius lashed out against Tisamenus and appealed to the emperor:

> So if anyone brings the foremost city to ruin and exalts one which is not even second-rate and allows it to insult its better, is he not also thereby injuring Your household? Yes! The injury is the greatest, if the case is carefully considered. He [Tisamenus] was not sent, Sire, to disturb the order of precedence among the cities, nor yet to debase the prestige which some possessed and to set the lesser upon the greater: he was sent to maintain the existing order, and to supervise each in a fitting manner and by his administration to increase their prosperity. Tisamenus, however, in bringing here that fellow from Beroea for the purpose he did, proclaimed it aloud to all and sundry that our city must be subordinated to that other, that it must renounce its title of metropolis, that our council must yield precedence to theirs, our citizens to theirs, and that we must recognize our betters. You could see the insult in this from the pain felt by our well-wishers and the pleasure felt by those who are not.[68]

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[65] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.14 of 365, discussed earlier in this chapter, in the section *Practice of benefactions*.

[66] One of Antioch's unique features was the permanent presence of three important Roman officials, the *Comes Orientis*, the *Magister Militum* and the *Consularis Syriae*.

[67] Liebeschuetz (1959), 113–26, and (1972), 141. See also Norman (1977), 212–13. *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.103 of 383, in which the Syriarchate was made a voluntary position: "each and every person who undertakes the compulsory public service of chief civil priest of Syria, must do so of his own free will and not by imposition of any compulsion." *Voluntate propria unusquisque syriarchiae munus suscipere debet, non necessitate inposita.*

[68] Libanius, *Oratio* 33. 22–23, ὅστις οὖν τὴν μὲν πρώτην καθαιρεῖ, τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ δευτέραν ἐπαίρει καὶ παρέχει προπηλακίζειν τὴν ἑαυτῆς βελτίω, τὸν σὸν οὐδὲν

### *Provincials as benefactors for governors*

Benefactions clearly played an important role in a good relationship between provincials and governors. I have discussed the perspective of the provincials and what they could expect from their governor, but to turn to that of a governor, what could he expect as a reward for being a benefactor to provincials? Communication between provincials and governors was not a one-way street, in which governors were only at the giving end, and provincials only at the receiving end. Rather, the relationship was reciprocal. Benefactions are a notable illustration of this concept of reciprocity. If governors bestowed benefactions on provincials, they could expect benefactions in return. The expression of provincials' benefactions corresponds with the division into the material and non-material benefactions of governors.

Non-material benefactions will receive most attention here, because provincials' material benefactions in the form of inscriptions and statues praising governors are discussed in chapter five.

Non-material benefactions by provincials take a variety of forms, some more tangible than others. First, if benefactions by governors were well received, provincials would praise them and cooperate with their rule. Of special interest to governors was their relationship with local elites, since these would be in a position to make the temporary stay of governors in their community either much easier, or more difficult. It was important for governors to keep them on their side, because they worked most effectively through alliances with local factions.[69] As a rule, governors did not come from the province they governed, and they might be unfamiliar with the territory, the people and the language of their province.[70] Most new governors

οὗτος οἶκον ἀδικεῖ; τὰ μέγιστα μὲν οὖν, εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς λογίζοιτο. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ οὐ συνταράξων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν περὶ τὰς πόλεις κόσμον οὐδὲ ταῖς μὲν τὸ ὄν σφισιν ἀξίωμα λυμανούμενος, τὰς δὲ ἐλάττους ἐπάξων ταῖς μείζοισιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς εἶχε διατηρήσων, ἑκάστης δὲ ᾗ προσῆκεν ἐπιμελησόμενος καὶ ποιήσων εὐδαιονεστέραν προνοίᾳ. ὁ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ δεῦρο τὸν ἐκ Βεροίας ἐφ᾽ οἷσπερ ἤγαγεν ἄγειν ἐβόα πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅτι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ κεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὀνόματος ἀποστατέον αὐτῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὴν βουλὴν ὑπεικτέον καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ γνωστέον τοὺς ἀμείνονας. γνοίης δ᾽ ἂν ὅτι ταῦθ᾽ ὕβρις ἦν ἔκ τε ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοικῶς ἐχόντων, ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ τῶν οὐχ οὕτως.

[69] Brown (1992), 29.

[70] *Codex Justinianus* 1.41 of 610, *ut nulli patriae suae administratio sine speciali permissu principis permittatur.* "No man was allowed to become governor of his province of his birth." See chapter one on governor's term of office and appointment.

could use some help upon arrival in a province. In the case of Marius (*PLRE* I, Marius 1), the new governor of Phoenicia in 360, Libanius wrote to Andronicus, a former governor and now a prominent member of the elite in the provincial capital Tyre: "I said to the governor that Andronicus was a friend of mine, and he said, 'Why do you not write to Andronicus?' So I am obeying and writing, and I maintain to you and all the Phoenicians that you have what is best of ours."[71] Subsequently, once a governor had established himself in his province, the members of the elite most likely knew some Greek to converse with him and be in his company, if only for dinner on winter nights. Libanius proudly mentions in a letter that in the evenings he had been keeping the company of Celsus (*PLRE* I, Celsus 3), governor of Syria.[72] In a province like Cappadocia, heavy snow would be falling for several months during the winter and one could feel disconnected from the world in this rugged area of the empire.[73] If a governor had angered the elite there to the extent that they would retreat to their own villas for the winter, he would truly be isolated and left on his own.[74]

Second, after their term of office, governors could also expect benefactions from their former subjects if they had been content with their performance. Provincials could help their former governors

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[71] Libanius, *Epistula* 1460, τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς ἄρχοντα ἔφην. ὁ δὲ τί οὖν οὐ γράφεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον; ἔφη. πείθομαι δὴ καὶ ἐπιστέλλω καὶ λέγω πρός τε σὲ καὶ Φοίνικας ἅπαντας, ὅτι τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ κάλλιστον ἔχετε. Andronicus (*PLRE* I, Andronicus 3).

[72] Libanius *Epistula* 1113. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula* 732, in which Libanius thanks the governor Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19), governor of Galatia, for frequent dinner invitations for Hyperechius (*PLRE* I, 449–50): "Although they (= Hyperechius and his father) wrote me about those things, Philocles has described all your goodwill toward them, announcing as well that he shared a table with the young man at your house. He claimed that this was a frequent thing and that Hyperechius had recounted it to him. When I heard about the dinners, both after the honor and before the honor, I contemplated that Hyperechius is improving intellectually by your company, for intelligence flows from your mind to those who consort with you, as sleep flows to the onlookers from people yawning." ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔγραψαν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, μεμήνυκε δὲ Φιλοκλῆς τήν τε ὅλην σου πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ ὡς κοινωνήσειε τῷ νεανίσκῳ παρὰ σοὶ τραπέζης. πυκνὸν δὲ ἔφασκε τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι, φράσαι δὲ ἐκεῖνον πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούων τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ μετὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ πρὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἐνενόουν ὡς βελτίων τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῆς ⟨σῆς⟩ συνουσίας Ὑπερέχιος ἐγίνετο. ῥεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν σῶν φρενῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας σύνεσις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν χασμωνένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας ὕπνος.

[73] Van Dam (2002), 14.

[74] Basil, *Epistula* 48, 88, 94; Libanius, *Oratio* 28.5, 42.15–16. See also Brown (1976), 23.

spontaneously or upon request, and two types of aid emerge. First, provincials could write letters of recommendation for a governor at the end of his term, when he was about to embark upon another governorship or other official post. When Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) left for his new appointment as the prefect of Egypt after he had already been governor of Armenia and of Galatia,[75] Libanius gave him a letter of recommendation to present to Castricius (*PLRE* I, Castricius 2), a teacher of rhetoric. Libanius encouraged the people of Egypt to treat the new governor well:

> An opportunity has arrived for you with respect to both honor and rhetoric, to demonstrate the latter and obtain the former! For the noble Maximus is the sort of man who races to an oratorical performance and honors good speakers. He demonstrated both these qualities in the great and noble city of Midas, which might also be justly called the city of Maximus. For in addition to buildings, springs and fountains, he also enhanced it in the area of wisdom by an addition of teachers, rhetorical competitions, and by honoring the victors as well as encouraging the defeated. So employ your tongue for ears that know how to pass judgment, and if any hesitation grips you, put it aside and do not hide your ability. I can also promise peace concerning the matters now bothering you. Such is the ally Serapis has led to you![76]

We may note, however, that Libanius' letter—which can be regarded as an introduction for Maximus upon the start of his governorship in Egypt—also illustrates the visible reciprocity of the relationship between governors and provincials. While Libanius praises Maximus for his building activities, his sense of justice, and his appreciation for oratory, at the same time he puts pressure on Maximus: the Egyptians now know what they can expect, and hope for. Maximus somehow will have to live up to these expectations.

[75] Maximus was governor of Armenia (361), of Galatia (362–64), of Egypt (364).

[76] Libanius, *Epistula* 1230, καιρὸς ἥκει σοι καὶ τιμῶν καὶ λόγων, τοὺς μὲν δεικνύειν, τῶν δ᾽ τυγχάνειν. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ γενναῖος, Μάξιμος, οἷος τρέχειν τε ἐπ᾽ ἀκρόασιν λόγων καὶ κοσμεῖν ἀγαθοὺς ῥήτορας. ἔδειξε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δι᾽ αὐτὸν μεγάλῃ τε καὶ καλῇ τοῦ Μίδου πόλει, δικαίως δ᾽ ἂν κληθείσῃ καὶ Μαξίμου. πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ κρήναις καὶ νύμφαις καὶ περὶ τὴν σοφίαν ηὔξησεν αὐτὴν διδασκάλων τε προσθήκαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσι καὶ τῷ τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας τιμᾶν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἡττηθέντας παρακαλεῖν. χρῆσαι οὖν τῇ γλώττῃ πρὸς ὦτα ἐπιστάμενα κρίνειν, καὶ εἴ τις ὄκνος κατέχει, τοῦτον ἐκδὺς μὴ κρύπτε τὴν δύναμιν· ὑπισχνοῦμαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶν νῦν ταραττόντων εἰρήνην· τοιοῦτόν σοι σύμμαχον ὁ Σάραπις ἤγαγεν. On Serapis, see Roeder, *RE* I A. 2. 2394–2426, '*Sarapis*'.

For these letters of recommendation to accompany the arrival of a new governor, personal connections were crucial. Not every governor will have been so lucky to count among their supporters someone like Libanius, who had many friends and acquaintances in other parts of the empire, as another example demonstrates.[77] Upon his arrival in Nicomedia as the new governor of Bithynia in 355, Eusebius (*PLRE* I, Eusebius 40) carried two letters of Libanius with him, one addressed to Alcimus, a teacher of rhetoric and friend, and the other to Aristaenatus (*PLRE* I, Aristaenatus 1) who was Libanius' closest friend in Bithynia.[78] Both letters encouraged the men to welcome Eusebius, and assured them that their new governor would be capable of good government.[79]

Second, provincials could also try to help a governor after his term, or even during his term,[80] if he found himself accused of embezzlement or other offences against provincials. The correspondence of both Libanius and Basil illustrates this type of 'benefaction.' Libanius wrote a letter for Sabinus (*PLRE* I, Sabinus 5) to take with him to court in Constantinople, in which he asked the officials there, "to stand firm for justice's sake and for my own against these difficult circumstances, and to instruct men that it is not for them to tear

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[77] Cf. Liebeschuetz (1972), 18.

[78] Bradbury (2003), p. 153.

[79] Libanius, *Epistula* 458 and 459; (458) τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἑλλήσποντον οἷον εὑρὼν οἷον ἔδειξεν, ἠκούετε· τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα ταχέως τις ἄλλος ᾄσεται. ἐμὲ δὲ διὰ πάντων τετιμηκὼς μεγίστῳ τούτῳ κεκόσμηκε δοὺς ἐπιστεῖλαι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς γνωρίμοις. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν φίλει μὲν ὥσπερ ἐμὲ τὸν ἄνδρα, θαύμαζε δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλον. "You surely heard how he found the Hellespont and how he left it. Soon someone else will be singing of your affairs, too. Through everything he has shown me honor and he has graced me with this greatest privilege, that he allows me to write to acquaintances through him. Take this letter and love the man as you do me—admire him as no other!" (459) δεῖ δὲ σε παραινεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, ἤσκηται γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ μάλιστά γε ὧν ἴσμεν, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ λόγων εἰς σωτηρίαν πόλεων κέχρηται· σὺ δ' ὅπως τὰς ὁδοὺς αἷς ὀρθοῖ τὰς πόλεις ὁρῶν ἐπαινέσῃς καὶ ποιήσῃς ἅπασαν Βιθυνίαν ἕνα χορὸν ᾀδόντων ἃ πεπόνθασιν. "You need not advise him how to govern, since he has practice in governance (more indeed than anyone I know!) and he employs his grasp of oratory for the salvation of the cities. When you see the ways by which he straightens out civic affairs, see to it that you praise him and make all Bithynia a single chorus of men hymning what they have experienced!"

[80] Governors could even be removed from office during their term; note the example of the *consularis Syriae* in 358, Nicentius (*PLRE* I, Nicentius 1), who was removed from office by Hermogenes, the Praetorian Prefect of the Oriens, because he had not fulfilled his duty of supplying a group of soldiers at a post somewhere on the Euphrates.

governors apart when they leave office".[81] In another letter Libanius pondered the pay-off for governors if they were to be accused after their term of office, when he opened one of his letters in defense of a governor, "it is a fine reward for our governors if, after expending their energies and reducing their private fortunes in the performance of their public duties, they get in exchange outrage, condemnation, disgrace and danger."[82] Basil emphasized the outrage of a whole provincial community, when he defended Helias (*PLRE* I, 411), governor of Cappadocia in 372, and wrote to the *Magister Officiorum*[83] of the East, Sophronius (*PLRE* I, Sophronius 3), after Helias' 'unjust' removal from office:

> Therefore we are one and all, the entire people, dejected at having been deprived of a governor who alone is able to raise again our city, which had already been brought to its knees, who is a true guardian of justice, easy of access for the victims of injustice, terrible to lawbreakers, fair to both poor and rich, and, greatest of all, who was restoring Christianity to its ancient honor. For the fact that he was the most incorruptible man we know, and that *he never granted a favor in violation of justice*, we have passed over as of less significance than the man's other virtues. [. . .] It will be a sufficient favor to us, and a consolation for our afflictions, if you will recommend him to the Emperor, and will do away with the slanders that have been brought against him.[84]

[81] Libanius, *Epistula* 83, καὶ βουλοίμην ἄν σε τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ ἡμῶν χάριν ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολίαν καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅταν λήξωσι τῆς ἀρχῆς, σπαράττειν. See also Libanius, *Epistula* 1350 for Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19), and 1354 for Ecdicius (*PLRE* I, p. 276).

[82] Libanius, *Epistula* 163, καλά γε περιμένει τοὺς ἄρχοντας τὰ ἆθλα, εἴγε ταλαιπωρήσονται μὲν καὶ τὰ αὑτῶν χείρω ποιήσουσι τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, λήψονται δὲ ἀμοιβὰς ὕβριν καὶ καταδίκην καὶ ἀτιμίαν καὶ κινδύνους. The governor involved was Thryphonianus (*PLRE* I, Thryphonianus 2).

[83] The *Magister Officiorum* was the head of the palatine administration and could potentially have much influence with an emperor. Kelly, *CAH*$^2$ XIII, 159.

[84] Basil, *Epistula* 96, διὸ πανδημεὶ πάντες σκυθρωπάζομεν, ζημιωθέντες ἄρχοντα μόνον δυνάμενον εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσαν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀνορθῶσαι, ἀληθῆ φύλακα τοῦ δικαίου, εὐπρόσιτον τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, φοβερὸν τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ἴσον καὶ πένησι και πλουσίοις, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὰ τῶν Χριστιανὼν πράγματα πρὸς ἀρχαίαν ἐπανάγοντα τιμήν. τὸ γὰρ, ὅτι ἀδωρότατος ὢν ἴσμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδενὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον χαριζόμενος, ὡς μικρότερα τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρελίπομεν. [. . .] ἀρκοῦσα δ' ἡμῖν χάρις καὶ τῶν συμβάντων παραμυθία, ἐὰν καὶ βασιλεῖ συστήσῃς αὐτόν, καὶ τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ διαβολὰς ἀποσκευάσῃ. ταῦτά σοι πᾶσαν οἴου τὴν πατρίδα διὰ μιᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας φωνῆς διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ κοινὴν εἶναι πάντων εὐχήν, γενέσθαι τι τῷ ἀνδρὶ διὰ τῆς σῆς τελειότητος δεξιόν. See also *Epistula* 147–149 for Basil's support of Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 23) who after

These accusations, however, were often highly controversial, since different parties in a province might have different opinions about governors' conduct, and governors might have political enemies who were all too happy to accuse someone falsely to remove them from the political stage. For that reason, several cases are known of governors who were accused, but then cleared once they appeared in court in Constantinople. For instance, Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) was accused while serving as governor of Galatia in 363, but he was acquitted.[85] After that, he continued to be the governor of Galatia until 364, when he stepped down to become the prefect of Egypt. In that same year 363, Libanius thanked Maximus for caring about Ecdicius (*PLRE* I, 276), governor of Galatia in 360, who was accused simultaneously with Maximus, and cleared of the accusations as well. Maximus, understanding the situation Ecdicius found himself in, had treated him as "not guilty until proven guilty," which Libanius greatly appreciated.

Equally, governors might have powerful friends at the imperial court who could help them to be acquitted, rightly or wrongly, of the accusations.

Moreover, we may reflect, that it was also safe for Basil to write this letter of support, because he would show his assistance and Helias might be content with that, although he would never be reinstalled. To this extent, perhaps, Basil had no reason to be negative. In fact, one could argue that Basil is presenting a pamphlet with the characteristics of the 'ideal' governor, which was much more a message to the new governor than it was to the former one.[86]

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an accusation of embezzlement was stripped of his office and property, and forced to flee to Caesarea. Cf. Menander Rhetor, 381, for his instructions that in a speech of welcome the speaker should emphasize that 'all' inhabitants of the province cheered at a governor's arrival, just as Basil here used that image of the entire provincial population.

[85] Libanius *Epistula* 1350: "the slander has been cleared away and no longer obscures, like a cloud before the sun's ray, the report of your fine deeds, instead, from all sides the report is the same, that the noble Maximus is the pupil of Rhadamanthus and that neither by safeguarding the laws is he harming his subjects nor by his kindliness toward his subjects is he transgressing the laws." ἐκκεκάθαρται γὰρ ἡ φήμη καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς καλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἀκτῖνι νέφος, ἔτ' ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ μίᾳ φωνὴ Μάξιμον τὸν καλὸν Ῥαδαμάνθυος εἶναι μαθητὴν οὔτε τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν νόμων λυποῦντα τοὺς ἀρχομένους οὔτε τῇ πρὸς ἔκείνους πρᾳότητι παραβαίνοντα τοὺς νόμους. Libanius also wrote *Epistula* 1230 also for him as an introduction for the people of Egypt.

[86] Thanks to Raymond Van Dam who brought this point to my attention in this specific case of Helias.

In the end—be it in the form of the allocation of funds for a desired restoration or new building, assistance in court cases or a positive response to recommendation letters written on behalf of provincials—it paid off for a governor to act as benefactor, since benefactions were part of a complex relationship between a governor and provincials who could return the favors he had bestowed upon them. Ultimately, governors and provincials were part of the same system, depending on each other's support.

To return to Edessa and Alexander one more time, perhaps most noteworthy and exceptional in his situation was that several of his benefactions helped lower class people, who would not be in a position to return the favor, to pay for an honorary statue, to invite him to a lavish banquet, or to write a letter of recommendation for him. That did not stop Alexander from being a benefactor for them; so perhaps, untypical though he might be, he was a true benefactor purely for the reason that as governor he could be.

CHAPTER FOUR

# SPEECHES, POEMS AND ACCLAMATIONS FOR THE GOVERNOR

> Let us compose decrees to send to the emperors in praise and admiration, and in prayer for many years of his (governor's) rule. Let us send statues to Delphi, to Olympia, to Athens—first however filling our own cities with them. Let him be depicted with his subject people all around him, all giving thanks and applauding. Let cities lead the procession in the picture, represented as women, bright-faced and rejoicing.[1]

In a speech of welcome, according to Menander Rhetor, the speaker should give a governor an idea of what kinds of praise he could expect if provincials were pleased with his rule. He could expect more speeches of praise, honorary inscriptions and statues not only in the province but even sent to the most sacred sites of the ancient Greek world. In addition, people would applaud him when he came out to meet them in public. The subject of this chapter is the commemoration and praise of governors by way of speeches, poems and acclamations. While questions of how and why governors were praised are addressed, the central question is how these different types of commemoration were viewed by provincials. What was the perspective of provincials, and why was it important for them to honor governors? Who benefited from such commemoration and praise? What attitude did provincials convey to the individual governor and to governors in general? Perhaps even more important, what message did praise of a governor communicate to higher officials, and especially the emperor? Praise and commemoration not only lead to a better understanding of the relationship between governors and provincials, but also to a deeper insight into the workings of ceremonial

[1] Menander Rhetor, 417–418, ψηφίσματα γράφωμεν πρὸς βασιλέας, ἐπαινοῦντες θαυμάζοντες αἰτοῦντες χρόνους εἰς ἀρχὴν πλείονας, πέμπωμεν εἰκόνας εἰς Δελφούς, εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, Ἀθήναζε, πρῶτον πληρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἡμερέτας· γραφέσθω δὲ νῦν περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχων κύκλῳ τὸ γένος τῶν ὑηκόων, εὐφημοῦντας ἅπαντας, ἐπικροτοῦντας, προηγείσθωσαν <ἐν> τῷ πίνακι καὶ πόλεις ἐν γυναικῶν σχήματι, φαιδραὶ καὶ γεγηθυῖαι.

and the routine of provincial and imperial government in the Late Roman world.

This chapter has three main sections which address the three different literary forms of praise: ceremonies of arrival with their speeches of praise, laudatory poems, and acclamations by crowds. In the first section on ceremonial routine I discuss the arrival of a governor in his province, and the manner in which provincials received him with welcome ceremonies and speeches. I also analyze the theory of Menander on speeches of praise, and compare it with the practice of real speeches by Himerius. Provincial elites and masses had different ways of communicating with governors, so in the section on acclamations I evaluate the communication of provincial crowds with a governor by means of acclamations.

Various types of praise represented different phases in the relationship between provincials and governors. Praise of a governor in a welcome speech upon arrival in his province—when he was, essentially, a 'stranger' to most provincials—had a different value from acclamations directed at him when he was half way into his term of office, attending a performance in the theater, or acclaimed for his achievements. Furthermore, as will become clear from the following chapter on inscriptions and statues for governors, a monument with an honorary inscription and statue of the governor set up after his term of office expressed a positive opinion about his overall accomplishments as governor, and had a different meaning from speeches of welcome and acclamations. Even though different types of praise and commemoration were used at different stages of a governor's term, the language, both literary and material, employed in these various types, I argue, made use of recurring themes and images.

## *Ceremonial routine*

There were several types of occasions on which provincials would have a chance to honor a governor with ceremonies and speeches of praise: for example, on his arrival, or in gratitude for benefactions he had bestowed on a city, or because he was celebrating a festival there. This routine performed for governors was part of a series of rituals designed to establish a relationship between the person who was welcomed or praised and those who welcomed and

praised him.[2] Not only did rituals and words of a speech honor the governor, they also defined his position.[3] As seen in the earlier chapters, provincials and governors were in a two-way relationship. If provincials showed their loyalty, in return they could expect their governors to assist them with their daily business and problems.

Because provincial communities for the most part were allowed to continue their own organization after they were incorporated into the Roman Empire, the Romans needed other ways to establish their rule firmly and to keep control over such a vast empire. The rituals of ceremonies, therefore, were ideal instruments for enforcing Roman customs on the provincials, and can be regarded as mechanisms of Romanization. Of course, by the time of the Later Empire, when in most provinces Roman rule had been established for centuries, a welcome speech for a governor was more part of an indispensable routine which ensured the continuance of a good relationship between subjects and ruler rather than a tool of Romanization. MacCormack argued, based on the arrival of Agamemnon, as described by Aeschylus, that the ceremonial of the arrival can be regarded as a microcosm of the players and their interactions, which in the course of the play are developed.[4] If one transfers her idea onto the relationship between governors and provincials, all the elements of their relationship as a whole are encapsulated in the welcome ceremony at the beginning of a governor's term of office: governor and provincials are introduced to each other, and the friendly exchange of words of welcome establishes an initial relationship which they hope will grow into a rewarding relationship during the governor's term of office. In their words of welcome provincials would make their expectations and wishes known to a governor, and in return he would express his willingness to make an effort to fulfill provincials' hopes. In short, the stage is set for the remainder of a governor's term.

The actual arrival of a governor in his province started the relationship between him and his provincials. He entered his province in a designated city at the beginning of his term, and he had to make sure, "that he enters by that part of the province where such

[2] MacCormack (1981), 19.
[3] Price (1984), 7–8.
[4] MacCormack (1981), 19.

entries are customarily made, and that he pays attention to what the Greeks call '*epidemiae*' (stopping-places) or '*kataploun*' (port of entry), whatever be the civitas to which he first comes or at which he first lands. The provincials set a high value on fidelity to that custom and to prerogatives of this kind."[5] In this way, because of an established tradition, provincials knew where he would go first, and where they had to make preparations for his arrival.[6]

Unfortunately, ancient sources do not reveal much about welcome ceremonies upon the arrival, or so-called *adventus*, of a governor, but from the sparse material the following can be constructed. The welcoming started already when the governor was approaching either by carriage or by ship, but had not yet arrived in the city.[7] The further away provincials came out to meet their governor, the more honor was conferred upon him.[8] Simultaneously, if a governor was escorted far beyond the city walls upon his departure, it was also a

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[5] *Digesta* 1.16.5 (Ulpian), *ingressum etiam hoc eum observare oportet, ut per eam partem provinciam ingrediatur, per quam ingredi moris est, et quas Graeci* ἐπιδημίας *appellant sive* κατάπλουν *observare, in quam primum civitatem veniat vel applicet. Magni enim facient provinciales servari sibi consuetudinem istam et huiusmodi praerogativas*. Though this law clearly dates back to a ruling from the High Empire, this ruling was taken up in the *Digest*, indicating that it was still applicable to the later period.

[6] In the province of Asia the proconsul would always enter at the city of Ephesus. *Digesta* 1.16.5 (Ulpian), "for example the province of Asia, indeed carries it to this length that the present emperor Antoninus Augustus on the entreaties of the Asians gave out a rescript imposing a requirement on the proconsul that he proceed to Asia by sea and that he land at Ephesus first of all the metropolitan centers." *ut Asia scilicet, usque adeo ut imperator Antoninus Augustus ad desideria Asianorum rescripsit, proconsuli necessitam impositam per mare Asiam applicare et inter matrices urbes Ephesum primum attingere*.

[7] For an analogy with the High Empire, see *SB* XIV, 11906 (= *P. Yale* Inv. Nr. 308). This papyrus from Egypt, of unknown origin, but perhaps dating back to the second or third century, might indicate that in the case of the governor of Egypt, ships were sent out to sea to escort him when he was about to enter the harbor of Alexandria: ". . . while he (the iuridicus) was saying that the governor was about to enter. Ships went out to him." λέγων ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμών ἐγγύς ἐστιν τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. Τὰ πλοῖα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελήλυθεν. The *iuridicus Alexandriae* was a high judicial officer in Egypt. In this papyrus text his Greek title is δικαιοδότης.

[8] Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 28.3.9 in which he described the general Theodosius and his departure in 369 from Britain where he had restored order and acted as governor: "after he (Theodosius) had managed the above-mentioned affairs and other similar ones so brilliantly, he was summoned to court, and he left the province dancing for joy [. . .]. Such was his popularity that he was escorted by a large crowd as far as the straits, over which he had a smooth crossing." *Ita spectatissime ante dictis rebus aliisque administratis similibus, ad comitatum accitus, tripudiantesque relinquens provincias [. . .]. Et favore omnium ad usque fretum deductus, leni vento transgressus, venit ad commilitium principis*.

sign of the highest honor. From the speeches of Libanius and Himerius a vivid picture emerges of what happened when official visitors were welcomed.[9] Local magistrates were expected to greet a governor outside the city walls. It was important that the whole city council attend, because they could be punished afterwards for their absence.[10] If the council was present in full strength, they could expect a governor to descend from his carriage to greet them.[11] He would go on to the gates, where a crowd of people was waiting for him. The crowd was carefully arranged to reflect the social order of the town. Everyone would know his place and, perhaps more importantly, fellow townsmen would be aware of each other's position in the lineup. In front were the *officiales*, councilors, advocates and teachers.[12] Then a governor would pass before the rest of the city population, who were probably cheering and acclaiming him. For instance, an enthusiastic crowd awaited Flavianus (*PLRE* I, Flavianus 14) upon his arrival in Carthage: "the people sounded louder than the waves, the applause from the city louder than the surge, and the cries of the Carthaginians overrode the sound of the sea."[13]

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[9] See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 208–219.

[10] Punishment could result in the prohibition to perform any public duties, to take part in politics, to be a member of the city council. The person in question could even be banished. See for instance Libanius, *Oratio* 27.42, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τῇ λύπῃ περὶ τῶν εἰς Γερμανὸν ἀπολογούμενος ἡμῖν Φοίνικα πολιτευόμενον ἑκόντα ἐν τῷ λειτουργεῖν μεμενηκότα μικροῦ νεκρὸν ταῖς πληγαῖς ἔδειξε. τί ἐγκαλῶν; τὸ μὴ μετ᾽ ἄλλων ἥκειν. "But he who in distress spoke to us in defense about the behavior of Germanus who governed Phoenicia and remembered willingly to perform liturgies, almost caused his (= Germanus) death by blows. What did he accuse him of? He did not come with the others."

[11] See Libanius, *Oratio* 46.40, in his Speech against Florentius, in which he criticized Florentius (*PLRE* I, Florentius 9) for not giving the city councilors the courtesy of getting out of his carriage upon his arrival and thereby humiliating them: καὶ φιλῶ δή, φησί, τὴν πόλιν. πάνυ γε, ὡς ἔδειξεν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀτιμίας μέσον μὲν αὑτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων προσρήσεως στάδιον ποιησάμενος, οὐχ ὑπομείνας δὲ ταὐτὸ ποιῆσαι πολλοῖς ὑπάρχοις γενναίοις, οἳ τὴν βουλὴν ὁπότε ἐν τούτῳ θεάσαιντο, μάλα ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν χαμαὶ στησόντων σφᾶς ἐπήδων. "He said, "I love the city." Yes, surely he did, as he demonstrated in the humiliation of the city council, while listening to their address in the middle of the stadium there, but not being patient to do the same as many noble governors, who, when they looked at the council, very quickly jumped out to (shake) the hands of those who were standing on the ground, but he detained them from going upwards."

[12] See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 209.

[13] Himerius, *Oratio* 36.16, ἀντήχει δὲ δῆμος κύμασι, καὶ ῥοθίῳ κρότος ἐκ πόλεως, καὶ ψόφον θαλάσσης βοὴ Καρχηδόνος ἐξέπληττε.

### *Speeches of praise*

Once a governor had arrived in a provincial town, be it upon his first entrance in the province or for a visit during his term of office, laudatory speeches were part of the ritual of establishing a relationship between provincials and governors. It was of great importance that this be an articulate and flattering speech, so that the guest would be impressed and the right tone was set for a beneficial relationship. Provincials would do their best to find an eloquent and powerful speaker to deliver the speech. In many cases, they were probably orators, experienced in public speaking. Most likely, these speeches of greeting were held in places that accommodated a large crowd, such as the theater or stadium. In Himerius' speech for Musonius (*PLRE* I, Musonius 1), proconsul of Achaea, there is a clear reference to the theater as the location for a speech that was to be held. Himerius, apparently, tried to avoid large crowds and theaters, but the arrival of the governor forced him to appear in the theater: "while I very much avoid theaters and am eager to stay away from speeches for gatherings of the whole populace, you have forced me to break with this principle."[14]

Since a governor visited a number of cities in his province, he probably heard many speeches. The level of eloquence, no doubt, varied greatly. Of course, after every speech a governor had to show his gratitude so that he would not hurt provincials' feelings.[15] After all, the relationship between a governor and provincials was characterized by reciprocity; if a governor right from the start of his term of office showed boredom or annoyance because he was dissatisfied with the quality of a welcome speech, the tone was set for a potentially difficult and hostile relationship.

Even with an uneven quality of welcome speeches, it is clear that only educated men were capable of giving one. As a consequence, this speech was to a large extent part of the communication between

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[14] Himerius, *Oratio* 20.1, ὀκνοῦντά με πάνυ τὰ θέατρα, καὶ τῶν πανδήμων συλλόγων ἀπάγειν τοὺς λόγους σπεύδοντα, λῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἠνάγκασας.

[15] *Digesta* 1.16.7 (Ulpian), "if the proconsul arrives at some populous city, or in the capital of the province, he ought without ill-grace to put up with hearing commendation of the civitas and the singing of his own praises, since the provincial people hold that as a point of honor." *si in aliam quam celebrem civitatem vel provinciae caput advenerit, pati debet commendari sibi civitatem laudesque suas non gravate audire, cum honori suo provinciales id vindicent.*

the elite of a community and a governor, because the sophistication of the language, the literary puns, and the cultural references in general were most likely out of the masses' reach. Nevertheless, that does not mean that the masses of the population were not part of the ceremony. On the contrary, they were vital for its success because of their physical presence and their cheering as part of a crowd.[16] On the other hand, what if governors did not fully grasp the rhetorical tour de force of orators such as Himerius? Undoubtedly, not all governors will have had the necessary literary background needed to understand and appreciate the rhetorical skills displayed in these welcome speeches. These speeches are nevertheless of vital importance, whether or not they were understood completely by the audience, because they provide a framework within which governors and provincials built their relationship.

From a provincial's point of view one needs to keep in mind that speeches for governors were not exceptional in the sense that provincials, especially in the (larger) cities, were used to hearing such speeches for officials, or even for local benefactors, at ceremonies or festivals. They were familiar with the structure and contents of the speeches, because of the recurring themes and images. Specifically, in regard to speeches for governors, because of their rapid turnover, provincials must have grown used to the frequent reception of governors, and must have seen many of these Roman officials come and go in the course of their lives.

Only a small number of actual speeches of welcome and praise for governors have survived. For the period of the Early Empire the extant speeches are strikingly few; in the second century in Apuleius' *Florida* there are two such speeches, and among the orations of his contemporary Aelius Aristides there are also two.[17] Fortunately, the period of the Later Roman Empire shows more evidence in the works of Himerius, Libanius and Gregory of Nazianzus. The most direct evidence of speeches delivered to governors in the fourth century is found in the work of Himerius. If one takes into account the centuries of the empire's existence, the number of provinces, the

[16] See below the section on acclamations for the importance of the masses during ceremonies.

[17] Apuleius: *Florida* 9 and 17, Aelius Aristides: *Oratio* 2 and 17, also called the Smyrnaean Orations. This is an exhaustive list based on current research.

rapid turnaround of governors, and then calculates how many speeches of welcome and praise must have been given, it is surprising how few have survived, insofar as they were so much a part of the routine of provincial government.

As for the contents of a speech for a governor, what would be appropriate to say, and what would a governor expect to hear? The work of Menander of Laodicea on the Lycus, an orator and teacher of rhetoric in the late third century, is a starting-point for an analysis of the contents of these speeches, because he wrote two treatises on epideictic theory and practice.[18] In his second treatise he prescribes the contents of four different types of speeches for governors: the speech of arrival (ὁ ἐπιβατήριος λόγος), the speech of praise (ὁ προσφωνητικὸς λόγος), the speech of invitation (ὁ κλητικὸς λόγος), and the speech in so-called 'talk' form (ἡ λαλιά).[19]

In this section I concentrate on the one hand on Menander's prescriptions for speeches of welcome and praise. In looking at some of his specific instructions, it becomes clear that provincials' initial praise of a governor reflected their hopes and expectations of a beneficial relationship. On the other hand, I compare Menander's prescriptions with the contents of welcome and praise speeches by Himerius. He was born in Bithynia in 320, but spent a considerable part of his life teaching in Athens.[20] His work is known mainly through Photius (ca. 810–893), who in his *Bibliotheca* described most

[18] Also called Menander Rhetor. Even though there are no earlier works left with the same type of prescriptions, Menander stood in a long tradition of rhetorical handbooks, going back to Plato and Aristotle. Scholars do not agree whether Menander wrote both treatises or not. Kennedy (1983), 25–26, claims that they were probably written by two authors. See also Wilson and Russell (1981), introduction xxxvi–xxxix, in particular xxviii–xxxix.

[19] Menander Rhetor, 378–88 (speech of arrival), 415–18 (speech of praise), 424–30 (speech of invitation), 388–94 (speech in 'talk' form). All these speeches contained sections of praise of a governor, though the speech of invitation focused more on the history and splendor of the city and its reason for invitation than on the governor. See Russell and Wilson (1981), introduction xxxi, on the origins of the 'talk' form. Himerius' *Orationes* 38, 39, 46 are 'lalia' speeches.

[20] He was in Constantinople between 343 and 352, and again between 361 to 369 to spend time at the imperial court. He taught rhetoric in Athens from 352 until 361, and in 369 he returned to Athens, where he stayed until his death some time in the 380s. See Barnes (1987), 207–09 for discussion on Himerius' date of birth. Also, Völker (2003), 3, and 368–69, Appendix 4, which is a timeline of Himerius' life.

of Himerius' corpus of speeches.[21] There are sixteen orations for governors, though not all have survived in the same condition.[22] Some are fairly complete, whereas others are much shorter, their text damaged and incomplete. Another four speeches are only known by title.[23]

Combining what we know of each is a useful exercise. With the theory of Menander and the practice of Himerius it is possible to bring to light important aspects of the relationship between provincials and governors, such as the language of praise that was used to establish a relationship, or the reciprocity that is implied within the relationship. It needs to be noted, however, that Menander's guidance was merely advice which did not need to be followed. Of course, individual orators had considerable freedom when it came to their own speeches, so long as they remained within the accepted model of public oratory. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Menander's influence can be detected in Himerius' work, especially in his speeches for Flavianus, Musonius, and Hermogenes; these are reasonably complete speeches of welcome or praise.[24]

At the beginning of a speech, in the *prooimion*, the speaker was expected to express the joy provincials felt at the arrival of a governor, as in these instructions of Menander: "with fortunate omen have you come from the emperor, brilliant as a ray of the sun that appears to us on high. Thus a happy report long ago brought word of your fortunate arrival and the most enviable lot of your subjects."[25] As discussed in the previous section on arrival ceremonies, Himerius also spoke about the enthusiasm, shown by the inhabitants

[21] In some instances, speeches have only survived in excerpts (ἐκλογή) in Photius. For the primary Greek text of the speeches, I am using the edition by Colonna (1951).

[22] *Orationes* 12, 20, 23, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 42, 46, 47 and 48. See Völker (2003) 48–9, for a schematic overview of all the extant speeches for high officials (praetorian prefects, vicars, proconsuls, *consulares*, *comites*, the *magister officiorum* and the *magister libellorum*). The identification of the addressees is based on the titles of the orations, though generally they are not thought to be by Himerius himself, but they are accepted as old and reliable by modern scholarship. See also Barnes (1987), 207.

[23] *Orationes* 49, 50, 51 and 53.

[24] Flavianus (*Oratio* 12, 36 and 43), Musonius (*Oratio* 20), Hermogenes (*Oratio* 48). Of these speeches only Hermogenes' speech is complete.

[25] Menander Rhetor, 378, ἀλλ' ἥκεις μὲν ἐπ' αἰσίοις συμβόλοις ἐκ βασιλέως λαμπρός, ὥσπερ ἡλίου φαιδρά τις ἀκτὶς ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ὀφθεῖσα· οὕτω πάλαι μὲν ἀγαθὴ φήμη διήγγειλε τὴν ἐπ' αἰσίοις ἄφιξιν καὶ εὐκταιοτάτην μοῖραν τῶν ὑπηκόων.

of Carthage when they received Flavianus as he arrived in Africa and their applause "overrode the sound of the sea."[26]

With a governor not originally coming from the province he was about to rule, it must have been difficult for provincials to know much about his family or education. Menander's solution was to keep the remarks general: "I am sure that the son of such-and-such parents, competing with his ancestors, will be good and just for us; for they were just men."[27] In practice, if there was an obvious lack of information, an orator might diminish the importance of knowing about a governor's personal history and family. Himerius gives an example of how he solved the issue by emphasizing the importance of the governor himself, and the lack of space he had left in the speech to deal with the parents: "one also has to be mindful of his origins, but not of everyone (= his family); for even History would be tired, I think, if it considered such a large number."[28] In the case of Hermogenes, on the other hand, Himerius discussed at length the details of his education, and pointed out that he was telling the truth instead of being vague or making up information: "no one of the more clever fellows should accuse us of taking the speech further away from the truth, because of a scarcity of true ground for praise."[29]

Before a speaker turned to praising a governor, he had to give a brief encomium on the emperor, because, ultimately, he was the highest authority in the empire, and, according to Menander, also responsible for appointing a governor, a gift for which provincials should say: "we owe very great thanks to the emperors for their labors on our behalf, but we should be right to admit yet greater gratitude to them for sending down to us such a man as this."[30] In

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[26] Himerius, *Oratio* 36.16. See n. 13 of this chapter.

[27] Menander Rhetor, 379, πείθομαι δὲ τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότα πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ πατέρας ἁμιλλώμενον ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἡμᾶς γενήσεσθαι καὶ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι δίκαιοι.

[28] Himerius, *Oratio* 12.19, μνηστέον ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γένους, οὔτι παντός· κάμοι γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι καὶ ἱστορία τοσοῦτον πλῆθος φροντίζουσα. This was a speech for Flavianus (*PLRE* I, Flavianus 14), proconsul of Asia in 383–4 and visiting Athens while on his way to his new appointment as proconsul.

[29] Himerius, *Oratio* 48.17, μή τις δὲ ἄρα τῶν κομψοτέρων ἡμᾶς αἰτιάσηται σπάνει τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐγκωμίων πορρωτέρω τῶν γινομένων ἀναβιβάζειν τὸν λόγον.

[30] Menander Rhetor, 378–79, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐρεῖς ὅτι τάς τε ἄλλας χάριτας μεγίστας τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὀφείλοντες, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀθλοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἂν δικαίως μείζους ὁμολογήσαμεν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν κατέπεμψαν. Cf. Menander's advice to the speaker who is supposed to praise the emperor with an Imperial Oration (ὁ βασιλικὸς λόγος), 375: "You should say also that he sends just governors around the nations, peoples, and cities, guardians of the laws and worthy of the emperor's

one of his speeches for Flavianus, Himerius created the image of the emperor wondering where he should send someone so great as Flavianus: "What shall I do? What shall I decide? Shall I send him as Prefect to the Romans? [. . .] Or shall we send him as the great charioteer of Justice? This the emperor decided and immediately implemented his decision with a golden writing tablet (= *codicilli* of appointment)."[31]

Praise of a governor followed the traditional path of acclaiming his virtues: justice, courage, wisdom and temperance.[32] In which order these virtues were treated, was not important, as long as they were discussed.[33] A sense of justice, most apparent in a governor as judge, was regarded as an important virtue, and Menander expressed provincials' wishes in this respect: "no one will dwell in prison unjustly, or be unjustly punished; the rich will not be preferred nor the poor man's just cause fall to the ground. So let our rich men cease to boast of their resources and our poor men cease to complain of their weakness."[34]

To Menander, courage was a virtue that governors should represent as protectors of provincials when they had to speak up for them in times of need to higher officials, even to the emperor: "he will represent our cause to the emperor in writing—his ancestors always acted as ambassadors (this if you can find that they were often holding office)—, he will face up to danger like a good helmsman, to

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justice, not gatherers of wealth." καὶ ἐρεῖς ὅτι δικαίους ἄρχοντας κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ γένη καὶ πόλεις ἐκπέμπει φύλακας τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δικαιοσύνης ἀξίους, <οὐ> συλλογέας πλούτου.

[31] Himerius, *Oratio* 36.10, Τί δράσω; τί δὲ βουλεύσομαι; ὕπαρχον πέμψω Ῥωμαίοις; [. . .] and 13, πέμψωμεν αὐτὸν τὸν μέγαν τῆν δίκης ἡνίοχον; ἔγνω ταῦτα βασιλεὺς καὶ χρυσαῖ παραχρῆμα δέλτοι τὴν γνώμην ἔφθανον. See Seeck on *codicilli*, *RE* IV 1 (1900), 179–83.

[32] Already in the fifth century BC the scheme of the Four Virtues was known as part of the traditional way of praising a person. Aeschylus used them in his *Septem contra Thebes* (610) where he characterized Amphiaraus. Plato in his *Symposium* (194E–197E) talks about them in his analysis of the nature of Eros. See Russell and Wilson (1981), introduction xiv, for more examples.

[33] Menander Rhetor, 380, "In any subject, you should arrange the virtues as you see it to be expedient for your case, and as you find the sequence of the argument admits." τάξεις δ' ἀεὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ἁπάσῃ ὑποθέσει, ὡς ἄν σοι συμφέρειν ὁρᾷς, καί ὡς ἂν ἴδῃς ἐπιδεχομένην τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ λόγου.

[34] Menander Rhetor, 379, οὐδεὶς ἀδίκως οἰκήσει τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἢ δίκην δώσει τῷ νόμῳ, οὐ προκριθήσεται πλούσιος, οὐ χαμαὶ πεσεῖται λόγος τοῦ πένητος δίκαιος, πεπαύσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πλούσιοι ταῖς περιουσίαις κομπούμενοι, πεπαύσθωσαν οἱ πένητες ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

save the ship as the waves rise high."[35] Wisdom was closely connected to justice, because without wisdom a governor could not be just: "for if a man understands everything that is right, and examines with care, how can he not be seen and confessed by all men to be one who will rule for the benefit of those under him?"[36] Menander did not elaborate on temperance, but only stated that the speaker should explain that a governor would "be above gain and above pleasure."[37]

Because most of Himerius' speeches are incomplete, it is impossible to analyze fully how he explained the full range of governors' virtues. Two examples, however, illustrate that he adhered to the traditional elements connected to virtues, and drew upon conventional images as employed by Menander as well. First, in praise of Hermogenes, Himerius used the image of a calm sea and a safe harbor created by Hermogenes, "as a good helmsman who freed all sailors from dealing with any trouble on the ship, who alone stood at the helm and steered the ship without it being washed by waves."[38] Second, when Himerius praised Flavianus who was "sharp in his wisdom, clever in speaking, incorruptible in friendship, noble in his fears, grand as a private citizen, capable as a governor, thoughtfully glorifying the private citizen, in his way of speaking softening the strictness of his office, [. . .] wise in speaking, better even in listening, noble in all respects," he matched him with the traditional scheme of the educated man who was able, moderate, wise, and just; in short, a man who deserved to be admired.[39]

In the general comparison—a traditional element in a speech of praise—a speaker had the opportunity to convey the provincials' ideal of their governor as better than any other man:

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[35] Menander Rhetor, 379, πρεσβεύσει πρὸς βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῖς γράμμασι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἀεὶ ἐπρέσβευσαν αὐτοῦ, εἰ πολλάκις ἄρχοντας ἔχοις λέγειν. ἀντιστήσεται τοῖς δεινοῖς, ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ σκάφους ὑπερέχοντες τοῦ κλύδωνος.

[36] Menander Rhetor, 380, ὃς γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τῶν προσηκόντων οὐδέν, περὶ πάντων δὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκέπτεται, πῶς οὐ δῆλός ἐστιν ὁμολογουμένως μέλλων ἄρχειν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν ὑπηκόων καλῶς;

[37] Menander Rhetor, 380, ἔσται κρείττων κέρδους, κρείττων ἡδονῶν.

[38] Himerius, *Oratio* 48.32, ὥσπερ τις κυβερνήτης χρηστός, ὃς πάντας ἀφεὶς τοὺς πλωτῆρας ἀπόνως ἐπὶ τῆς ὁλκάδος φέρεσθαι, μόνος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων ἑστὼς εὐθύνει τὸ σκάφος ἀκύμαντον. Cf. Himerius, *Oratio* 36.15.

[39] Himerius, *Oratio* 12.23–24, ἄκρος σοφίαν, δεινος εἰπεῖν, ἀνάλωτος φιλίᾳ, γενναῖος ἐν φόβοις, ὑψηλὸς ἰδιώτης, ἄρχων ἐπιεικής· τὸν μὲν ἰδιώτην ἀποσεμνύνων φρονήματι, λογῷ δὲ πραΰνων τὸ τῆς ἐξιουσίας αὐθέκαστον [. . .] σοφὸς εἰπεῖν, ἀμείνων ἀκοῦσαι, τὰ πάντα γενναῖος.

> previous rulers, here as elsewhere, either had the reputation of being proud solely of their family, or else made a display of wisdom or some other single virtue. This man, however, has been shown to be far superior to all others in family as the sun is to the stars, and will soon be admired for his virtues also, being seen to be superior in justice to those for whom justice is a source of pride, superior in courage, in wisdom, and in temperance—or at least not inferior—to any who have had the reputation of priding themselves on the actions that spring from these virtues.[40]

Himerius' praise of Flavianus, in one of his three speeches for him, expressed this same ideal of a governor who was better than anyone else, when he compared Flavianus to Pericles, Themistocles, Plato and Solon: "and all know that each of them is praised for single things, but that he (= Flavianus) is praised for all things."[41]

In the epilogue of a speech, Menander stresses that the speaker should emphasize that he represents *all* the inhabitants of the community who were *all* coming out to greet him: "we have come to meet you, all of us, in whole families, children, old men, priestly clans, associations of public men, the common people, greeting you with joy, all welcoming you with cries of praise, calling you our savior and fortress, our bright star: the children call you their foster-father and their fathers' savior."[42] The image of all provincials supporting or welcoming a governor was quite common, and Himerius employed it as well, when he said that all the Greeks would collectively and in concert honor Hermogenes like a choir that would position itself around the governor's throne of Justice.[43]

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[40] Menander Rhetor, 380–81, ὅσοι μὲν οὖν γενόνασιν ἄρχοντες καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ παρ᾽ ἑτέροις, ἢ τῷ γένει μόνῳ σεμνύνεσθαι ἔδοξαν, ἢ φρόνησιν προὐβάλλοντο ἢ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν ἀρετῶν· οὗτος δὲ ὅτι τῷ γένει πάντων κρείττων ἐστί, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ <ἥλιος> τῶν ἀστέρων δέδεικται, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς θαυμασθήσεται, κρείττων μὲν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τῶν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ φρονούντων ὀφθείς, κρείττων δὲ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ, καὶ [κρείττων δὲ] ἐν φρονήσει <καὶ> σωφροσύνῃ, ἢ οὐκ ἐλάττων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκ τούτων δοξάντων μέγα φρονεῖν.

[41] Himerius, *Oratio* 36.9, καὶ πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι οἷς ἕκαστος ὡς μόνοις, [ὡς] πᾶσιν οὗτος ἀγάλλεται.

[42] Menander Rhetor, 381, προαπηντήκαμεν δέ σοι ἅπαντες ὁλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι, παῖδες, πρεσβῦται, ἄνδρες, ἱερέων γένη, πολιτευομένων συστήματα, δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι, πάντες φιλοφρονούμενοι ταῖς εὐφημίαις, σωτῆρα καὶ τεῖχος, ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ δὲ παῖδες τροφέα μὲν ἑαυτῶν, σωτῆρα δὲ τῶν πατέρων.

[43] Himerius, *Oratio* 48.31. Also, *Oratio* 12.16, for the image of the throne of Justice. Cf. Basil, *Epistula* 96, in which he emphasized the outrage of the whole provincial community when he wrote in defense of Helias (*PLRE* I, p. 411), former governor of Cappadocia, who was removed from office, unjustly according to Basil. See

Menander recommended drawing upon the image of the sun frequently; he sees the governor as the sun, or as the rays of the sun taking away the darkness that surrounds provincials. Himerius repeatedly employs this image. For instance, in his speech for Flavianus upon the proconsul's impending departure, he says that by the governor's leaving their sun would disappear: "No poet would seem to lie, when he wanted to say that after your departure the sun would be taken away."[44] The sun's image was clearly associated with good rule and administration, whereas bad weather and darkness were connected to bad rule.[45]

The formulations of praise, the recurring themes and familiar images as presented in the prescriptions of Menander and the speeches of Himerius, stood in a long tradition. Because of the general themes, the lack of individual and personal elements, and the standard expressions, the language and the contents of speeches of welcome and

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chapter three, the section *Provincials as benefactors for governors* for more details on this particular situation.

[44] Himerius, *Oratio* 12.14, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδεὶς ποιητὴς ψεύδεσθαι δόξειε, μετὰ τὴν σὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀφελέσθαι θέλων τὴν ἥλιον. Cf. *Oratio* 12.35 and 12.37; 36.1. See also *Oratio* 47.1 in which Himerius compares the governor Basilius (*PLRE* I, Basilius 2) with the light, and 47.17 in which he called the governor "the most beautiful of the stars," ἀστέρων πάντων ὁ κάλλιστος.

[45] The image could also be used as a reverse image as illustrated by the words of bishop Liutprand of Cremona, who as the representative of the German king Otto I (936–973), was sent on an embassy to the Byzantine court in Constantinople in 968. The embassy's goal was to reconcile political differences, and perhaps to find a Byzantine bride for the future king Otto II (973–983). The emperor at the time in Constantinople was Nicephorus Phocas (963–969). Not at all impressed by the way he was treated at the imperial court, Luitprand—forced to attend a procession and appalled by the sight of the emperor and the behavior of the crowd—commented: "And when this monster proceeded as if crawling, the singers cried out in flattery: "Look, the morning star is coming, Dawn is rising, with his gaze he drives back the rays of sunlight, he drives back the pale death of the Saracens, Nicephorus μέδων ('lord'), and then they sing: μέδοντι (which is 'to the lord') Nicephorus, πολλὰ ἔτη ('many years'). Peoples honor, worship him, subdue your neck to such a great man". How much more true would they have sung: "come you burnt out piece of coal, μέλε an old woman in your walk, a Sylvanus in your look, rustic, wandering around (like) a goat, a horned one, a centaur, piece of cattle, ignorant, wild, barbaric, rude, shaggy, you rebel, you Cappadocian" (Liutprand, *legatio* X). *Cumque quasi reptans monstrum illud procederet, clamabant adulatores psaltae: "Ecce venit stella matutina, surgit Eous, reverberat obtutu solis radios, pallida Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus μέδων, id est princeps!" Unde et cantabatur: "μέδοντι, id est principi, Nicephoro, πολλὰ ἔτη, id est plures anni sint! Gentes, hunc adorate, hunc colite, huic tanto colla subdite!" Quanto tunc verius canerent: "Carbo exstincte veni μέλε anus incessu, Sylvanus vultu, rustice, lustrivage, capripes, cornute, bimembris, setiger, indocilis, agrestis, barbare, dure, villose, rebellis, Cappadox!"* Originally, the family of Nikephorus came from the area of Cappadocia, which at this time was considered to be too rural and unsophisticated.

praise might even seem meaningless to a modern audience. Even though the language was general and governors would hear the same type of speeches of praise repeatedly, these speeches played a vital role in the initial establishment of a relationship between provincials and their individual governor. Provincials had to express their joy about his arrival, they had to say that he would be the most fair and competent judge they had ever encountered, and show him that they would hold him accountable for their situation as the ruler of the province.

Provincials could expect a governor to express his gratitude and show his appreciation for the speeches. The language was part of the communication between governors and provincials, and therefore part of their relationship. Moreover, the language of welcome and praise was part of the language of the elite and the educated. This was a language only spoken and understood by a select group who knew the traditions and the expectations. Whoever wanted to belong, had to obey to the 'rules.' Both provincial elite and governors were aware of this language, and were proud of their ability to speak it; the occasion of the welcome of a governor upon his first arrival being the first opportunity to open the dialogue in this language.

### *Gregory of Nazianzus: a poem for Nemesius*

While focusing on the speeches of Libanius and Himerius, both pagan authors, one must not overlook the rhetoric of Christian writers in their praise of governors. One such example is a poem by Gregory of Nazianzus, written for the governor of Cappadocia, Nemesius (*PLRE* I, Nemesius 2), and a good illustration of how Christian rhetoric was woven into traditional patterns and classical models of political oratory.[46] Gregory wrote Nemesius several letters and a long poem of praise.[47] It is not my intention to discuss the poem here at great length, but to draw attention to some notable features.[48]

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[46] Gregory had studied under Himerius in the period 368–69, and was certainly influenced by his teacher. Völker (2003), 5.

[47] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 104, 106, 125, 126, 131, 140, 144, 146. See Hauser-Meury (1960, 137–39) for her argument on the addressee for these letters. Poem of praise, *Carmen* II.2, *PG* 37.1451–1600; the length is 334 lines. Van Dam (1996), 61–2.

[48] This poem is a prime example of an ancient source so far neglected. To my

The structure of the poem is different from that of a laudatory speech as recommended by Menander, but the elements of praise are similar, and they fit traditional themes such as praising a governor for his justice and education. In the opening of his poem, Gregory immediately draws attention to Nemesius' justice and his eloquence:

> Light of justice and of eloquence, Nemesius, who before was on the tribunal of right judgment, who carried glory from the emperor, who added courage to the first Ausonian laws, who with an equally matching voice questioned weaker versions, finally shining upon the tribunal for the most holy Cappadocians, displaying the first fruits of your justice.[49]

Both justice and eloquence, i.e. proof of education, are important themes that Menander and Himerius also employ throughout their work which were, as stated above, part of the common language used between members of the elite. Gregory was clearly no different in this respect. Toward the end of his poem, he once again describes Nemesius as "a strong-minded man who fairly balanced the scales of justice for Cappadocians."[50]

The main difference between Gregory, Menander and Himerius is found in the Christian theology that is central in the whole poem. Even though Nemesius was pagan, he and Gregory had become friends through a shared classical culture and education, which gave them common ground for communication.[51] Van Dam argues that Gregory used the poem as an opportunity not only to introduce Nemesius to Christianity, but also to convince him to adhere to it.[52] Gregory claimed his own poem as the only right way of praising a governor, because he was speaking through God, whereas he classified

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knowledge it has not been translated. It would be worthwile to analyze it both for its language and historical importance. In addition, a comparison with other poems would be valuable, such as the poems of Dioscorus of Aphrodito (born ca. 520), who wrote several poems for the Dukes of the Thebaid. See MacCoull (1988).

[49] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmen* II.2.7.1–6, ὄμμα δίκης μῦθων τε, Νεμέσσιε, ὃς τοπάροιθεν Βήμασι ἰθυδίκοισι, φέρων κλέος ἐκ βασιλῆος, πρώτοις Αὐσονίοις τε νόμοις μέγα κάρτος ὀπάζων, ἐξ ὀπὸς ἀντιπάλοιο καὶ ἥσσονα μῦθον ἐλέγχων, ὕστατον ἀντέλλεις θώκων ὑπὲρ ἠγαθέιοισι Καππαδόκοισι, θέμιστος ἀπάργματα σῆς ἀναφαίνων.

[50] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmen* II.2.7.326–27, Νεμέσσιοις ὀβριμόθυμος Καππαδόκοισι τάλαντα δίκης ἰθεῖα τανύσσας. Translation by Van Dam (1996), 61.

[51] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmen* II.2.7.306, φίλων ὄχ' ἄριστε Νεμέσσιε. Van Dam (2002), 61. Van Dam (2002), 86–7.

[52] Van Dam (2002), 87.

any other form of praise as having lesser value and lesser truth. Also, in Gregory's opinion, the time had come for Nemesius to turn away his ears from the false pagan words, and listen to the true words of the Lord:

> Some would celebrate your glory with songs and loud thundering noises, while they prophesy with their mouths your fierce eloquence, with which you left everyone behind from very far away, since among many speeches one is sufficient, in which they above all want to make (his deeds) known, such as the dividing current of a great river. Again, others would glorify the cities, while putting up a picture with embroidery, or setting up Nemesius moulded in bronze in the middle of the cities, silent, though he is with many words, since there is glory in the cities for good governors and an image to be seen by the people in the future. But I (for the great God has made me understand heavenly and earthly affairs, and his mind is carried in everything, tracing the depth with the radiance of the Holy Spirit) spoke loud and clear of what a priest needs to say, as the faithful divine messenger of the truth, a disciple of them, who tied the world with the sweet drag-nets of God, while not trusting powerful words, nor breathing with the strength of riches, nor famous before, so that someone would say this: 'the Power is in the Word of God.' But, come on, pay attention to these words, you who for such a long time offered your ears to sweet and false words, in which grace is false, similar to lustful images. Little have you given a listening ear to my words, in which beauty—unfading and unshaken—is of the mind, sparkling a transparent light for the most pure eyes. For if Christ would take your heart to heaven, and pierce it in the middle with a refreshing arrow, you, while watching a pair of *erotes* on each side, would know how much the sting of the Lord is sweeter.[53]

[53] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmen* II.2.7.7–36, ἄλλοι μὲν μολπῇσιν, ἐριγδούποισί τ' ἀοιδαῖς, καὶ ῥήτρην πυρόεσσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων προχέοντες τὴν σήν, ᾗ ῥα σὺ πάντας ἀπόπροθε πολλὸν ἔθηκας, σὸν κλέος ὑμνείοιεν, ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσι λόγοισιν ἄρκιος, ἣν ἐθέλωσι διακριδὸν ἐξαγορεύειν, ὥστε ῥόος μεγάλοιο μεριζόμενος ποταμοῖο. Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ γραφίδεσσι μετήορον ὕψι φέροντες, ἢ χαλκῷ χοάνοις τε Νεμέσσιον ἐν μεσάτησι στήσαντες πτολίεσσιν ἀναυδέα, τὸν πολύμυθον, ἄστεα κυδαίνοιεν, ἐπεὶ κλέος ἄστεσιν ἐσθλῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ εἶδος ὁρώμενον ἐσσοεμένοισιν. Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ (δὴ γὰρ με Θεὸς ἴδριν ἔθηκεν οὐρανίων, χθονίων τε, νόος δ'ἐπὶ πάντα φορεῖται, βένθε' ἀνιχνεύων μεγάλου σὴν Πνεύματος αἴγλῃ) φθέγξομαι, ἅσσ' ἐπέοικε θυηπόλον ἄνδρ' ἀγορεύειν. Ἄγγελον ἀτρεκίης ἐριηχέα, τῶν δὲ μαθητήν, οἳ κόσμον γλυκερῇσι Θεοῦ δήσαντο σαγήναις. Οὔτε λόγοις κρατεροῖσι πεποιθότες, οὔτ' ἀφένοιο κάρτεϊ φυσιόωντες, ἀγακλέες, οὔτε πάροιθεν, ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσι· Θεοῦ κράτος ἐστὶ Λόγοιο. Ἀλλ' ἄγε, τοῖσδ' ἐπέεσσι δίδου φρένα, καὶ γλυκεροῖσι, μαψιδίοις ἐπέεσσι τόσον χρόνον οὖας ὑποσχὼν, ὧν χάρις ἔστ' ἐπίπλαστος, ὁμοίϊος εἴδεσι μάχλοις, βαιὸν ἐμοῖσι λόγοισιν ὑποκλίνειας ἀκουήν, ὧν κάλλος νόος ἐστιν, ἀνέκπλυτον, ἀστυφέλικτον, ὄμμασιν ἁγνοτάτοισι διαυγέα φῶτ' ἀμαρύσσων. Εἰ γὰρ ὀϊστεύσειε τεὴν φρένα Χριστὸς ἄνωθεν. Καὶ μεσάτην τρώσειεν ἀναψύχοντι βελέμνῳ,

Most of the remainder of the poem is dedicated to Gregory's attempt to convince Nemesius why he should favor Christian beliefs and renounce pagan deities. We do not know if Nemesius, indeed, did convert, but it is notable in itself that Gregory felt the need to make the effort. Even though the poem is supposed to be a laudatory composition for Nemesius, in my opinion it can equally be regarded as a pamphlet for Christianity at a time when this religion certainly had become prominent, but was not yet officially recognized as the sole religion of the empire. The poem is an illustration of the tension that undoubtedly existed in the interactions between those who were still pagan and church leaders, such as the case of Nemesius and Gregory. For my purpose the poem is also important, because it demonstrates how Christian authors were able to communicate with Roman authorities in a similar way as pagan authors had done, by adhering to the rules and traditions of a common classical culture.

## *Acclamations*

Speeches of welcome and praise played an important role in the establishment and continuation of a beneficial relationship between the provincial elite and their governors. The provincial masses were excluded from this relationship because they did not speak the required 'language'; thus the community at large needed other means to relate to their governor.[54] The ideal instrument was the use of acclamations at public gatherings where governors appeared, such as their arrival and departure in provincial communities and shows at the theaters and hippodrome.[55] Not only were acclamations a tool for communication between governors and the masses, but there were also advantages for governors, as Liebeschuetz pointed out: "the ceremony of acclamation enabled a governor to keep in touch with public opinion directly, and without consulting the local authorities."[56] In short, an acclamation was a ritual form of vocal expression,

ἀμφοτέρους κεν ἔρωτας ἐποπτεύων ἑκάτερθεν, γνοίης κέντρον Ἄνακτος, ὅσον γλυκερώτερόν ἐστιν.

[54] See also MacCormack (1981), 19.

[55] Liebeschuetz (2001), 208.

[56] Liebeschuetz (1972), 258.

in unison, of wish, opinion or belief by a large gathering of people.[57] The ideal place for a large provincial crowd to meet their governor and acclaim him was in the theater or in the circus at games.[58] Through acclamations provincials could make requests to a governor and express their admiration, but also show disapproval of his policies and conduct. Acclamations were not unique to the relationship between provincials and governors, but were part of any relationship between ruler and subject in the Roman Empire.[59] The focus in this section is on the positive acclamations, whereas in chapter six, on critical attitudes of provincials toward governors, there is an analysis of acclamations used as instruments of pressure and criticism. Even though I concentrate on acclamations of the provincial masses, one needs to keep in mind, that acclamations were not exclusively a mass phenomenon. The Roman senate also had a tradition of acclamations which went back to the Early Empire.[60] An example of senate acclamations in the Later Roman Empire can be found in the laudatory poem of Corripus which he wrote upon the coronation of the emperor Justin II (565–578). The poem contains several acclamations, both of the crowd in Constantinople and of the senate.[61]

Originally, acclamations had been spontaneous expressions, but by the fourth century they had become less so, and increasingly standardized and regulated, shouted according to certain rhythms.[62] A crowd would no longer acclaim without any preparation.[63] In particular,

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[57] Definition based partly on Roueché (1984), 181.

[58] Roueché (1984), 183.

[59] First and foremost, acclamations had been the primary means of communication between the crowd in the city of Rome and the emperor. See Millar (1992), 369. Also, Roueché (1984), 183 and Aldrete (1999), 102.

[60] See Talbert (1984), 297–302, for a discussion of the evidence and the nature of acclamations of the senate.

[61] See Averil Cameron (1976).

[62] The rhythms of acclamations were not new. From the beginning of the development of acclamations there were certain rhythms with which people supposedly liked to acclaim. Aldrete (1999), 128–31, argues that the formulaic character of acclamations does not necessarily exclude flexibility, and proves his point with some examples of standard expressions of acclamations adapted into something completely different.

[63] Liebeschuetz (1972), 211. Foss (1979), 16. Roueché (1984), 184, acknowledges that there probably was some guidance for the people in the acclamations, but on the other hand believes that the people not mindlessly did repeat what they were told.

in theaters so-called "claqueurs" appeared, 'professionals' who would lead the people in the acclamations.[64] Claqueurs, as a group called a claque, worked undercover. People in the audience should not be aware of their presence, because they should not feel manipulated by the claque.

Individual claqueurs stationed themselves at strategic spots throughout a theater and waited for a sign from their leader, who would try to determine the mood of the crowd.[65] The worst thing that could happen to a claqueur was that he would start to applaud and shout too early, and reveal to other people what he was trying to do.

Claques could put a lot of pressure upon Roman authorities, because of their potential influence on a crowd. Even though they were not formally employed by imperial officials, claques still ended up being paid by them in many situations. A governor was potentially a good 'customer' of a claque. When he entered a provincial town, the leaders of a claque could intimidate him and deliberately receive him in silence in the theater.[66] In such an instance, immediately, the governor would realize the power of the claque. His only way of making sure that a crowd would behave in a controlled manner was to pay the claque. Besides, the governor would want to try to avoid negative reports of acclamations being sent to the emperor.[67]

Acclamations were used as indicators of provincial sentiments by the imperial government. In 331, Constantine ordered that from then on written records of provincials' acclamations had to be sent to him for review:

> We grant to all persons the privilege of praising by public acclamation the most just and vigilant judges, so that We may grant increased accessions of honor to them. On the contrary, the unjust and the evildoers must be accused by cries of complaints, in order that the force

[64] The French word 'claquer' means to clap, and a claque would be a group hired to applaud at a performance. See Aldrete (1999), 134–35, for a description of the emperor Nero (54–68) who already hired a group of elite cheerleading claqueurs known as the *Augustani*.

[65] See Alan Cameron (1976), 234–35. Cameron firmly believes that activities of a claque were restricted to theaters, and that a claque would not have worked in the hippodrome, because of the size of the audience in the hippodrome. See also Aldrete (1999), 134–137, for a brief discussion of the origins of the claque in the theater.

[66] For instance, Libanius, *Oratio* 33.12, and 46.3–4. See Liebeschuetz (1972), 212.

[67] See also Alan Cameron (1976), 242.

> of Our censure may destroy them. For we shall carefully investigate whether such utterances are truthful and are not poured forth effusively and wantonly by clients. The praetorian prefects and the counts who have been stationed throughout the provinces shall refer to Our Wisdom the utterances of Our provincials.[68]

In this way, the emperor could gain a sense of provincial sentiments, while the review also provided an instrument to check what a governor was doing. By looking at acclamations the emperor could promote or punish his officials accordingly.[69] Constantine was aware of the potential power of claques and the difficulties they could cause a governor even if he was trying to be conscientious, and he promised to be careful in his investigations of the acclamations.[70] The use of the word 'clients' in Constantine's law seems to imply that people were paying their clients to acclaim certain negative utterances, because they were deliberately trying to undermine a governor. Imperial attention to acclamations can also be regarded as interest in praise, because ultimately, the emperor was to be held responsible for the behavior of his officials. When governors were praised, indirectly emperors were praised, for ultimately they could be held responsible for appointing a governor. As seen before, Menander also encouraged orators in their welcome speech to praise an emperor for his appointments.[71] At the same time, it also meant that the emperor could be blamed if a governor misbehaved.

For ambitious governors, favorable acclamations would be helpful if they were seeking advancement to higher offices.[72] Based on acclamations that they had heard of his excellent rule and efforts, Flavius

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[68] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.6 (= *CJ* 1.40.3), *iustissimos autem et vigilantissimos iudices publicis adclamationibus conlaudandi damus omnibus potestatem, ut honoris eis auctiores proferamus processus, e contrario iniustis et maleficis querellarum vocibus accusandis, ut censurae nostrae vigor eos absumat; nam si verae voces sunt nec ad libidinem per clientes effusae, diligenter investigabimus, praefectis praetorio et comitibus, qui per provincias constituti sunt, provincialium nostrorum voces ad nostram scientiam referentibus*. See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 209, and Alan Cameron (1976), 241, for more discussion on the semi-constitutional status of acclamations.

[69] While in this chapter praise and commemoration are central, in chapter six acclamations as tools of criticism for the provincial masses are discussed extensively. See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 211.

[70] See Foss (1979), 16.

[71] Menander Rhetor 378–79, τάς τε ἄλλας χάριτας μεγίστας τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὀφείλοντες, ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀθλοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἂν δικαίως μείζους ὁμολογήσαιμεν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν κατέπεμψαν.

[72] Foss (1979), 16.

Taurus Seleucus Cyrus (*PLRE* II, Cyrus 7), Flavius Maximus (*PLRE* II, Maximus 22) and Flavius Valentinus Georgius Hippasias (*PLRE* II, pp. 565–6) promised Flavius Heliodorus, the proconsul of Asia around 440, to bring a favorable report to the emperor:

> Fl(avius) Taurus Seleucus Cyrus, Fl(avius) Maximus <. . .> for the second time, and Fl(avius) Valentin(us) Georg(ius) Hippasias to Fl(avius) Heliodorus, admired proconsul of Asia. Greetings, we too rejoice to encounter the acclamations of the inhabitants of Asia, through which they admire the good rule of Your Excellency, hearing as if from one mouth that you have imitated your labors, which you undertook in the eastern parts, or rather have surpassed these; and we rightly are pleased and proud to come across such a testimony; and we instruct our divine and immortal chief about your good reputation; Your Excellency, rule further with good cheer and care consistently for the demes, the city councils and the tax companies, so that from this some more will be added to your merits; for the divine and glorious leaders of the world know how to reward those who make such efforts.[73]

The importance of the emphasis on *all* the inhabitants of a province when presenting the provincial point of view, as seen before with the instructions of Menander and the case of Basil defending one of the governors of Cappadocia, also becomes clear in the way these three men present the acclamations of the people of Asia as if 'from one mouth'.[74] The encouragement of the favorable report and the assurance that the emperor knew how to reward men like him, would have been a great incentive for Flavius Heliodorus to continue his governorship in a satisfactory way for both him and his subjects.

Acclamations could be a very brief wish or expression of joy. They could be wishes for good health, or for long and prosperous rule,

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[73] *IK* 11 Eph. 44, Φλ(άβιος) Ταῦρος Σέλευκος | Κῦρος Φλ(άβιος) Μάξιμος <- - -> τὸ β᾽ καὶ | Φλ(άβιος) Οὐαλεντῖν(ος) Γεώρ(ιος) Ἱππασίας | Φλ(αβίῳ) Ἡλιοδώρῳ τῷ περιβλέπτῳ | ἀνθυ(πάτῳ) Ἀσίας. χα[ί]ρομεν καὶ ταῖς | ἐκβοήσειν τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰ-|κούντων ἐντυχόντες, δι᾽ ὧν | τὴν τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότατητος εὐαρ-|χίαν θαυμάζουσιν, καὶ πάντων | ὡς ἐκ ἑνὸς ἀκοὐοντες στόματος, | ὅτι τοὺς σοὺς ἐμιμήσω πόνους, | οὕς ἐν τοῖς ἑῴοις ὑπέστης μέρε-|σιν, μᾶλλον δὲ τούτους νενίκη-|κας· καὶ σεμνυνόμεθα δικαίως | καὶ φρονοῦμεν μέγα τοιαύτης | ἐπιτυχόντες μαρτυρίας· καὶ τὴν | θείαν καὶ ἀθάνατον κορυφὴν | συνεχῶς τὰς σὰς εὐδοκειμή-| σεις διδάσκομεν· μετ᾽ εὐθημί-|ας τοίνυν ἡ σὴ θαυμασιότης | ἀρχέτω καὶ συνήθως ἐπι-|μελείσθω τῶν τε δήμων | τῶν τε βουλευτηρίων | τῶν τε συντελεστῶν, | ἵνα τι μῖζον ἐκ τούτου | ταῖς σαῖς ἀξίαις προσγε-| νηται· ἴσασιν γὰρ οἱ θειότα- | τοι καὶ καλλίνικοι τῆς | οἰκουμένης δεσπόται τούς οὑτω πονοῦντας | ἀμίβεσθαι. It is not quite clear what offices or positions these three men had at the time of this inscription.

[74] Basil, *Epistula* 96; see chapter three, the section *Provincials as benefactors for governors* for more details on this particular situation.

or they could simply be an expression of welcome. An example of this last type is found in an inscription of an acclamation from Ephesus. When the governor Phlegetius (*PLRE* II, Phlegetius 2) entered the city, the masses acclaimed him: "Enter, Lord Phlegetius, into your city."[75] Notable in this case is that the acclamation was actually written down as an inscription. Another example of a short acclamation, also from Ephesus, is found in a mosaic in the baths: "May Asclepius increase, the most magnificent proconsul."[76]

Acclamations could also contain provincials' requests, which would be all the more powerful when acclaimed in unison by a large group of people. When the civil governor and the head (= *catholicus*) of the Treasury in Alexandria both visited Oxyrhynchus in Egypt around 300, and met with a assembly of people, these two officials heard acclamations that not only honored them, but also made requests. In this specific case they were both honored, although the demonstration was really in favor of the president of the local senate, the *prytanis*. The people's request was directed at the *catholicus*, and not the governor, although it is not quite clear what they want from the former:

> The Roman power forever! Lords Augusti! Good fortune O governor, good fortune to the catholicus! Bravo president, bravo the city's boast, bravo Dioscorus chief of the citizens! Under you our blessings still increase, source of our blessings, . . . . Loves you and rises, good luck to the patriot! Good luck to the lover of equity! Source of our blessings, founder of the city, . . . bravo . . . let the president receive the vote on this great day, many votes does he deserve, for many are the blessings we enjoy through you, O president! This petition we make to the catholicus about the president, with good wishes to the catholicus, asking for the city's president, beneficent catholicus, for the city's founder, lords Augusti for ever, this petition to the catholicus about the president, for the honest man's magistrate, the . . . equitable magistrate, the city's magistrate, the city's patron, the city's lover of justice, the city's founder. Good fortune O governor, good fortune O catholicus, beneficent governor, beneficent catholicus! We beseech you, catholicus, concerning the president; let the president receive the vote, let him receive the vote on this great day. This is the first and urgent duty." The president said: "I welcome, and with much gratification, the honor which you do me, but I beg that such demonstrations be reserved for a legitimate occasion when you can make them with

[75] Roueché (1999), 131, ἔνβα κυ- |ρι Φλεγέθι [ἐς] τὴν | πόλιν σ[ου].
[76] *IK* 14 Eph. 1313, αὔξι Ἀκλή-|πις ὁ μεγαλοπρε-|πεστατος ἀν-|θύπατος.

> authoritative force and I can accept them with assurance." The people cried: "Many votes does he deserve. [. . .] lords Augusti, all victorious for the Romans, the Roman power forever! Good fortune o governor, protector of honest men, o catholicus."[77]

These acclamations show how similar requests could also be directed at a governor. Furthermore, this example is an illustration of the strict hierarchical order in which officials would be acclaimed, starting with the emperor first. Based on these acclamations, it is clear that the governor was higher in rank than the *catholicus*. Perhaps, there would be more pressure on the *catholicus* to respond to the people's request in the presence of the governor. In addition, the acclamations are a fine example of how those who acclaimed and those who were acclaimed might alternate in response to each other's acclamations.

The instructions of Menander, the speeches of Himerius, the poem by Gregory, and the acclamations presented in this chapter all serve to illustrate one aspect of the commemoration and praise of governors, with their many common themes and similar patterns such as praise of education, justice, courage, good family background, and fine accomplishments. In the following chapter, I turn to the visual aspect of praise and commemoration through monuments set up to honor governors. At the end of the next chapter I also evaluate praise and commemoration in general, combining the findings of both chapters.

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[77] *P. Oxy.* 41 (= Select Papyri II, LCL), εἰς [ἐ]ῶνα τὸ κράτος τ[ῶ]ν Ῥωμαίων, Ἄγουστοι κύριοι, εὐτύχη [ἡγε]μών, εὐτυχῶ[ς] τῷ καθολικῷ. Ὠκαιαναὶ πρύτανι, Ὠκααναὶ δόξα πόλεω[ς], Ὠκααναὶ Διό[σκ]ορε πρωτοπολῖτα, ἐπὶ σοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ πλέον γίνεται, ἀρχηγαὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ισιην φιλῖ σε καὶ ἀναβαίνι, εὐτυχῶς τῷ φιλοπολίτῃ, εὐτυχῶς τῷ φιλομετρίῳ, ἀρχηγὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κτίστα τῆς π[όλεως. . . . .]. . . . . . Ὠκααναὶ. . . . . ου [. . . .] ψηφισθήτω ὁ πρύ(τανις) ἐν ταύτῃ [ἡμέρ]ᾳ, πολλῶν ψηφισμάτων ἄξιος, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν διὰ σαί, πρύτανι. δέησιν τῷ καθολικῷ περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως εὐτυχῶς τῷ καθολικῷ δεόμεθα, καθολικέ, τὸν πρύτανιν τῇ πόλι, εὐερ[γέτ]α κα[θολι]καί, τὸν κτίστην τῇ πόλι, Ἄγουστοι κύριοι εἰς τὸν ἐῶνα· δέησ[ιν] τῷ [καθολι]κῷ περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως, τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς μετρίοις, ἰσάρχο[ντ]α [τοῖς. . . .]ς, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῇ πόλι, τὸν κηδεμόνα τῇ πόλι, τὸν φιλομέτριον [τῇ π]όλ[ι], τὸ[ν] κτίστην τῇ πόλι, εὐτύχη ἡγεμών, εὐεργέτα καθολικαί, δεόμεθα, καθολικαί, περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως· ψ[ηφισ]θήτω ὁ πρύτανις, ψηφισθήτω ἐν ταύτῃ ἡμέρα. τοῦτο πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ πρύ(τανις) εἶπ(εν)· τὴν μὲν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τιμὴν ἀσπάζομαι καὶ γε ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφόδρα χαίρω· τὰς δὲ τοιαύτα[ς], μαρτυρίας ἀξιῶ εἰς καιρὸν ἔννομον ὑπερτεθῆναι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμῖς βεβαίως παρέχεται καὶ ἐγὼ ἀ[σφ]αλῶς λαμβάνω. ὁ δῆμος ἐβόησεν· πολλῶν ψηφισμάτων ἄξιος, [. . .] Ἄγουστοι κύριοι, πασεινῖκαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, εἰς ἐῶνα τὸ κράτος τῶν Ῥωμαίων. εὐτύχη ἡγεμώ[ν], σωτὴρ μετρίων, καθολικαί.

CHAPTER FIVE

# INSCRIPTIONS AND STATUES FOR GOVERNORS

Now that we have considered speeches, poems and acclamations as expressions of provincial praise, in this chapter the focus is on honorific inscriptions and governors' statues. First, I discuss the different relevant types of inscriptions and their interpretations. In the section on statues, I present and examine five statues of governors with inscriptions preserved on their bases. For a comprehensive insight and appreciation of such inscriptions, it is best to give an analysis of the entire monument to which an inscription belongs.

## *Honorific inscriptions*

> The Fatherland—with Good Fortune!—(has honored) T(itus) Opp(ius) Aelianus Asclepiodotus, most splendid consularis, governor of Caria and Phrygia, proconsul and corrector of Asia, founder and savior of his own fatherland: Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Marcianus the chief archon (set this up).[1]

Honorary inscriptions were part of a final stage of praise: they were set up in response to what governors had already done for a province or provincial community, most often after the term of office had ended. It is not my intention to present all possible inscriptions for governors, because studies by Robert, Ševčenko, Roueché, and more recently Horster have already identified many of the relevant inscriptions.[2] For purposes of this study, I discuss the inscriptions in the

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[1] Roueché (1989, no. 7, 16–19), Ἡ πατρὶς | Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ | Τ(ίτον) Ὄππ(ιον) Αἰλιανὸν | Ἀσκληπιόδοτον | τὸν λαμπρότατον | ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα | Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας | ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἐπα- | νορθωτὴν Ἀσίας κτί- | στην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ | τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος | Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Μαρκιανὸς ὁ | πρῶτος ἄρχων. Translation by Roueché. Titus Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus (*PLRE* II, Asclepiodotus 2).

[2] Robert (1948), Ševčenko (1968), Roueché (1989) and Horster (1998). In this chapter I am concentrating on inscriptions from Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Crete, though inscriptions from other provinces are presented as well.

context of governors' images in connection with provincial expectations. To what extent does the image of a governor that emerges from the inscriptions fit the image that has been developed in the previous chapters from the legal and literary sources? As seen in the previous chapters, provincials wanted a governor who was an honest and fair judge, accessible and incorruptible. They also wanted him to be a benefactor when they needed assistance with certain projects and in other times of need.

Honorific inscriptions for governors can be divided into two categories: those that honor governors for specific accomplishments, such as the restoration of a building or the bestowal of a benefaction upon a provincial community, and those that honor governors after their term of office for their overall achievements.[3] The first category is mostly found on the restored buildings or other objects that a governor was praised for having been involved with, for instance inscribed on a stone that was part of the structure, such as a wall, a city gate or theater. These inscriptions tend to be short, a few lines, giving the name, title and rank of a governor and the work he accomplished. For example, Flavius Constantius (*PLRE* I, Constantius 6), governor of Caria perhaps in the late 360s, was praised because he put up a wall: "The council and the people (have honored) Flavius Constantius, *clarissimus praeses*, who, as well as his other works, put up the wall."[4] Flavius Elias (*PLRE* II, Elias 8), *comes* and *praeses* of Arabia in the late fifth or early sixth century, was honored with two almost identical inscriptions mentioning his work on a portico.[5]

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[3] Roueché (1997), 355, identified this first type of inscriptions as a sub-category of honorary inscriptions, called 'building-inscriptions', instead of making it a separate category as I am doing here.

[4] Roueché (1989), no. 22, Φλ(άβιον) Κωνστάντιον τὸν λαμπρότατον ἡγεμόνα ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀναστήσαντα. See for two other examples, the cases of Flavius Areianus Alypius (*PLRE* I, Alypius 12) and Claudius Leontichus (*PLRE* II, Leontichus 2); see chapter three, the section *Material benefactions*.

[5] Welles (1938), nos. 280–81: ἐπὶ Φλ(αουίου) Ἡλία τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ περιβλέπτου κόμιτ(ος) καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐγ[έ]νετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἐμβόλου, and [ἐ]πὶ Φλ(αουίου) Ἡλία τοῦ μεγαλπρεπεστάτου καὶ περιβλέπ(του) κόμιτ(ος) καὶ ἄρχον[τος] ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτελιώθη τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἐμ[βόλου]. Elias held the rank of *spectabilis comes* and civil governor of Arabia. In 536, Justinian created the rank of *moderator Arabiae*, so this inscription must be dated to the period before 536. See also the earlier cases of Flavius Archelaus (*PLRE* I, Archelaus 6), *comes* and *praeses* of Arabia, in 349/50, who was praised for rebuilding a fort (*SEG* 7.1062 = *AE* 1933, 171), and the case

The second category of inscriptions is most often to be found on statue bases. These were part of a larger monument, comprising an honorary statue with an accompanying inscription usually on the stone block on which the statue was placed. These inscriptions tend to be longer than the inscriptions of the first category and are more descriptive, such as the inscription for Titus Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus in the heading of this section. In comparison to the early imperial period, significant changes took place in epigraphic habits in the Later Roman Empire, and these had a visible impact on honorific inscriptions for governors. Whereas the earlier inscriptions were more or less formal and factual accounts of the different offices the man honored had held, and can be regarded as so-called 'career inscriptions,' in the Later Roman Empire often specific offices were no longer mentioned.[6] Governors now were praised with general characterizations as 'founder' (κτίστης),[7] 'renovator' (ἀνανεωτής),[8] 'benefactor' (εὐεργέτης),[9] 'giving right judgment' (ἰθυδίκης)[10] or 'savior' (σῶτηρ).[11]

Along with this change to more general praise, change also occurred in the type of text that appeared on the stone bases. Most inscriptions were now no longer written in prose, but in verse, though it is not quite clear what caused this change.[12] Whereas earlier inscriptions would give detailed information about family connections, offices held, and good deeds and benefactions, late inscriptions are far less informative and might not even give the honorand's name.[13] There seems to be much more focus on abstract virtues and an ideal image. One complication that accompanies these changes is that it becomes

of Flavius Bonus (*PLRE* I, 164) also *comes* and *praeses* of Arabia in 392 who was honored with an inscription for rebuilding a church (Wadd. 229a Kapra).

[6] Roueché (1989), 357. See also Horster (1998), 52. Horster argued that there are notable differences in the eastern and the western parts of the empire. Where honorary inscriptions in the west are characterized by the style of a decretum, in the east domination of verse in the inscriptions is quite clear.

[7] See for example, Roueché (1989), no. 7, 40, 62.

[8] See for example, Roueché (1989), no. 17, 62. Also, *IK* 13 Eph. 621.

[9] See for example, Roueché (1989), no. 62, 63. Also, *IK* 13 Eph. 621; *IK* 14 Eph. 1312.

[10] See for example, Roueché (1989), no. 63. Also, *IK* 14 Eph. 1310. Also, mention of sense of justice (δικαιοσύνη): *I.Cret.* IV 313.

[11] See for example, Roueché (1989), no. 7. Also, *IK* 14 Eph. 1312, *AE* 1979, 617.

[12] Roueché (1997), 357, 360–61. See also Robert (1948), *Hell.* IV. 109.

[13] Smith (1999), 175. Roueché (1997), 357.

increasingly difficult to identify the honorees of the inscriptions with particular individuals, if their offices are not specifically mentioned.

A notable example from Ephesus illustrates this point. The proconsul of Asia, Nonnus, (*PLRE* II, Nonnus 1) was honored with the following inscription, found on a statue base: "Nonnus, this glorious leader of the land of Asia, whom the city of Antiochus and the beautiful Orontes raised; Order and blooming Peace set this up for the wise charioteer of countless cities."[14] At least the name of Nonnus is given in this inscription, though it is not explicitly stated that he was a governor. Based on the description of him as a leader of Asia, and the reference to the chariot which can be regarded as a symbol for governors, Nonnus was probably governor, i.e. proconsul, of Asia.[15] I agree with Roueché, that with the change from prose to verse in honorary inscriptions it has become more difficult to distinguish individuals, especially when no names or offices are mentioned:

> The overall impression made by reading these inscriptions is that they all praise various members of a homogeneous ruling class, who may become governors, or bishops, or remain local benefactors, but who seek similar honors. And those honors, by their very nature, emphasize that all the persons concerned are members of an educated class. It is the culture of such men—who must be cultivated simply to understand the praises applied to them—which is emphasized, while their achievements are very vaguely described.[16]

Hence, as the honors are generalized, the recipients become more anonymous. In general, cities or city councils took the initiative in setting up monuments honoring governors, as can be seen in the mention of the 'council' or the 'people of a certain city' in the inscriptions.[17] For example, when at the end of the third century the city of Ephesus decided to honor Lucius Artorius Pius Maximus (*PIR*[2] A

[14] *IK* 14 Eph. 1308, οὗτος ὁ κυδήεις ᾿Α|σιήτιδος ὄρχαμος | αἴης Νόννος ὃν | ᾿Αντιόχοιο πόλις κ(αὶ) καλὸς ᾿Ορόντης ἔτραφον· Εὐνομίη | δὲ καὶ Εἰρήνη τεθα|λυῖα θῆκαν ἀπει|ρεσίων πτολίων | σοφὸν ἡνιοχῆα. Also Robert (1948), 97.

[15] See also *IK* 14 Eph. 1313, for the example of the governor Stephanus (*PLRE* II, Stephanus 3) in which another reference to a chariot is used as a symbol of a governor's office. Both the statue and the inscription for Stephanus are discussed in the next section on governors' statues. Cf. Himerius, *Oratio* 36.13 in which he also praised a governor for being the charioteer of Justice. See chapter four, the section *Speeches of praise*.

[16] Roueché (1997), 363.

[17] See Horster (1998), 50–56, for an extensive discussion about the initiators of honorary inscriptions.

1187 / *PLRE* I, Maximus 43), proconsul of Asia, they put up the following inscription to accompany a statue that has not survived:

> for L(ucius) Artorius Pius Maximus the most splendid proconsul, who adorned his fatherland with many great works and who renewed the Imperial Gymnasium, the greatest and emperor-loving Boulè of the Ephesians and the most splendid demos set this up, their benefactor and benefactor of his fatherland.[18]

In some instances, when the city council is not mentioned specifically in an inscription, more general terms are used, such as the following example from Aphrodisias illustrates, in which the 'Carians' set up a monument for Helladius: "The Carians set up (a statue of) this great governor, Helladius, making a return for (his) great virtue."[19] While cities and their councils predominantly set up inscriptions, individuals, provinces at large, or the provincial koinon would on occasion also dedicate them. The following noteworthy example illustrates how individuals could honor governors. Valerianus, who was the head of staff (*princeps officii*) of the governor Dulcitius, honored him with a statue and inscription. This instance is also an example of a text that does not mention the offices; but based on its language and other inscriptions for Dulcitius, he is identified as one of the governors of Caria:

> If it was permitted, Valerianus, who was the leader of your troop, would have wished to make even a golden image of your virtue—indeed (I swear) by yourself, Dulcitius, because you were an unbroken

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[18] *IK* 13 Eph. 621 (= Miltner, *Anz. Ak. Wien* 95, 1958, 85–6), Λ. 'Αρτώριον Πεῖον | Μάξιμον | τὸν λαμπρότ(ατον) ἀνθύπ(ατον) | πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις | ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν | πατρίδα ἀνανεωσάμε- | νόν τε καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον | τὸ Σεβαστὸν ἡ κρατ(ίστη) καὶ φιλο- | σεββ. | 'Εφεσίων βουλὴ καὶ ὁ λαμπρότ(ατος) δῆμος τὸν ἑ- | αυτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος | εὐεργέτην. See also Miltner for a discussion of which gymnasium is meant. Other examples are *IK* 14 Eph. 1307; Roueché (1989), nos. 22 and 31.

[19] Roueché (1989), no. 16, Τῆς μεγάλης ἀ|ρετῆς τοῦτον | μέγαν ἡγεμονῆα | Ἑλλάδιον | [Κ]ᾶρης στῆ[σα]ν | [ἀ]μειβόμ[ενο]ι. Helladius was perhaps governor of Caria in the first half of the fourth century. See also nos. 17 and 18 which are further inscriptions for Helladius. Also, no. 63, in which the Carians set up a statue and inscription for the governor Palmatus (*Ant. Pal.* 16.35 = Robert, *Hell.* IV, 148 = *AE* 1949, 239: copied by a Byzantine copyist, but now lost): "The Carians, remembering many benefits, and greatly admiring the rightly just Palmatus, (set up this statue)." μνήμονες οἱ Κᾶρες πολέων εὐεργεοσιάων Παλμάτον ἰηθυδίκην τόσσον ἀγασσάμενοι. See also IK 14 Eph. 1310, in which the 'whole city' of Ephesus set up an inscription and statue for Stephanus. See the section on governors' statues for more discussion of both Palmatus' and Stephanus' case.

> tower of lawfulness. But now he has set you in marble in front of the baths, so that the stone may remain as a witness of your labors.[20]

An example of a koinon instructing an inscription to be set up comes from a small corpus of inscriptions from Crete involving Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus (*PLRE* I, Asclepiodotus 2), who was the governor of Crete in the 380s. The following text was inscribed by Aemilius Quintilius Pyrrhus and Ulpius Fursidius Panhellenius after the Koinon of Crete had ordered them to set it up:

> Aemilius Quintilius Pyrrhus the sophist and Ulpius Fursidius Panhellenius the First,[21] by decree of the Koinon of the province of the Cretans, have set this up at the hall of Justice for Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus most splendid governor, because of his virtue and justice.[22]

The interpretation of the meaning of honorific inscriptions has to be two-fold, one for each of the two categories of inscriptions. First, the category of inscriptions, mostly brief, on buildings or other works that acknowledged and honored individual governors who had achieved specific undertakings. The name of a particular governor would be associated with the building or work as long as it remained in existence. With work done on walls, gates or theaters, this could be more than several decades if not more than a century, or even a millennium. Second, the longer verse inscriptions on statue bases represented a new way of expressing praise for governors that paid

[20] Roueché (1989), no. 41, Ἤθελεν, εἰ θέμις ἦν, | καὶ χρυσίην τάχα | μορφὴν σῆς | ἀρετῆς τεύχειν | ναὶ, μά σε, Δουλκίτιε, | ὅς πρῶτος στρατίης | τῆς σῆς πέλε, Βαλεριανός, | οὕνεκεν εὐνομίης | πύργος ἄρηκτος ἔφυς. | νῦν δέ σε μαρμάρεον | στῆσεν προπάροιθε λοετροῦ | μάρτυς σῶν καμάτων | ἡ λίθος ὄφρα μένοι. Translation by Roueché. Another example of individuals setting up inscriptions in Roueché (1989), no. 62, which was set up for Palmatus; see the section on governors' statues for more discussion of this inscription.

[21] Aemilius Quintilius Pyrrhus (*PLRE* I, Pyrrhus 2). Ulpius Fursidius Panhellenius was holding the position of *decemprimus*, one of the ten highest ranking *decurions*. Jones (1964), 731.

[22] *I. Cret.* IV 313, Οἰκουμένιον Δωσίθεον | Ἀσκληπιόδοτον τὸν λαμπρότατον | ὑπατικὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ | δικαιοσύνης Αἰμίλιος Κυντίλιος | Πύρρος ὁ σοφιστὴς καὶ Οὔλπιος | Φουρσίδιος Πανελλήνιος πρωτεύων | δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Κρητῶν | ἐπαρχίας παρὰ τὴν Δίκην ἀνέστησαν. *I. Cret.* IV 284–85 and 314–22 for more inscriptions connected to Oecumenius; most of them are set up during his governorship. For other examples of the involvement of the koinon, see *IK* 14 Eph. 1312, in which the koinon of Asia honored the proconsul Aelius Claudius Dulcitius (*PLRE* I, Dulcitius 5), and another inscription from Ancyra, which accompanied a statue commissioned by the koinon of Cyprus, in honor of a governor of the island who originally came from Ancyra; see S. Mitchell, in *AS* 27 (1977), 70, n. 5, with *BÉ* 1978, 488; *SEG* 27, 845.

tribute more to their characteristics, behavior and qualities as judges and administrators than to the actual title of their offices. The general terminology is sometimes so vague that it becomes even difficult for us to claim that a man had been a governor. All inscriptions can also be regarded as reminders, not only for future governors as to what they could obtain by way of honors, but also to provincials themselves as to what they could bestow upon a governor if he had performed his duties in a more than satisfactory way.

An unusual set of evidence is preserved in the form of inscriptions found in congruence with portraits of the governors themselves. To demonstrate the language, recurring themes and individuality of honorary inscriptions, I wish to present these five cases for closer examination. All come from statue bases, and in all these cases we are fortunate to have the statues too. They were found in Aphrodisias and Ephesus, in date ranging from the late fourth to the early sixth century.[23] After each text and translation I briefly indicate unique features of a particular inscription, whereas I present a general comparison of the language and the themes immediately following the fifth inscription.[24]

I. *Alexander, praeses* of Phrygia, late fourth/early fifth century:

| Text: | Translation: |
|---|---|
| Εἰκόνα λαιέην μὲν | "A stone image |
| Ἀλεξάνδροιο δικαίου | of the just Alexander |
| ἡ Φρυγίης μήτηρ | the mother of Phrygia sent here to |
| μητέρι τῆι Καρίης | the mother of Caria, |
| τῆς ζαθέης ἀρχῆς τέκμαρ | (as) undying mark |
| ἄμβροτον ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψεν· | of his divine rule; |
| πᾶς δὲ λόγος μείων | but all words fall short |
| τ' ἀνδρὸς εὐφροσύνης. | of the man's good cheer. |
| Εὐτυχῶς | With good fortune."[25] |

[23] See below the section, *Governors' statues*, for a schematic overview of the five governors, their rank, type of statue and time period.

[24] It is not my intention to give an in-depth philological analysis of the Greek used in the inscriptions, although I realize that such an analysis would be useful.

[25] Translation based on Roueché (1989), no. 32, with some adjustments. As Smith (1999), 167, points out, the reference in the epigram to the material of the statue itself, marble, is not found earlier. In the following inscriptions of Damocharis and Stephanus there is also mention of the material of the statues.

Alexander's inscription is remarkable, because it is a rare example of an honorary monument set up not in the province a governor ruled, but in his home province by the province he had governed. Alexander had been so successful as governor of Phrygia that its metropolis Laodicea—"mother"—had decided to dedicate a monument in the metropolis, Aphrodisias, of his home province Caria.[26] The advantage for Alexander—who presumably returned to his home province after his term of office—would be that he had something as a visible memorial on display in his own home community.

II. *Damocharis* (*PLRE* II, p. 344), *proconsul* of Asia, fourth/fifth century:

| Text: | Translation: |
|---|---|
| Τὸν σοφίῃ κρατέοντα καὶ<br>εὐνομίῃ καὶ ἀοιδῇ<br>ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πατέρων<br>ἀνθύπατον πρύτανιν<br>Δαμόχαριν ποθέον-<br>τες Ἰήονες ἀργυρα-<br>μοιβοὶ στήλῃ λα-<br>ινέῃ στῆσαν ἀγασ-<br>σάμενοι. | "For him who prevailed in wisdom,<br>in good government and the art of singing,<br>from good fathers,<br>the governor and ruler<br>Damocharis, (for him)<br>the Ionian bankers, in longing<br>and in admiration<br>set up a stone stele."[27] |

The case of Damocharis shows that quite apart from cities, city councils, and the provincial councils, particular groups could also set up monuments for governors. In Damocharis' case, the bankers of Ionia must have been pleased indeed with his behavior if they dedicated a monument.[28]

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[26] See Roueché (1989), 56, for an explanation of her preference for Laodicea as the metropolis (of Phrygia Pacatiana). The second option would be Synnada, which was the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris.

[27] *IK* 14 Eph. 1302. Miltner (1959), 348. The base of Damocharis' statue had been used earlier for a different statue, since the base carried another inscription on another side (*IK* 13 Eph. 621) for Lucius Artorius Pius Maximus (*PIR*[2], A 1187 / *PLRE* I, Maximus 43), proconsul of Asia. See the section above about the nature of inscriptions for a discussion of this earlier inscription. On Damocharis, see *IK* 14 Eph 1303 for another inscription about him, but fragmented.

[28] See Eck on *Damocharis*, *RE* Suppl. XIV, 110, Damocharis 10. See also *IK* 14 Eph. 1300 in which the 'young men' set up a statue for the governor Theodorus, εἰρήνης πρύτανι(ν), | κρατερώτατον | ἀρχὸν Ἰώνων, | οἱ κοῦροι Θεόδωρον | ἀνεστήσαντο | χαρέντες | Ἔυβολον οἳ ναίουσι | τὸ κάλλιστον ἄστεος | οὖδας. "The Kouroi who inhabit the Embolos, the most beautiful ground of the city, have in delight set up this for Theodorus, ruler of Peace strongest leader of the Ionians."

III. *Oecumenius, praeses* of Caria, first half fifth century:

| Text: | Translation: |
|---|---|
| Τὸν σὲ νόμων πλή- | "You who are full of (knowledge) |
| θοντα, τὸν Ἰταλι- | of laws, who have blended |
| ώτιδα Μοῦσαν | the Italian Muse |
| Ἀτθίδος ἡδυεπεῖ | with the sweet-voice |
| κιρνάμενον μέλιτι | honey of Attic, |
| τῇιδ' Οἰκουμένιον | Oecumenius, |
| τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἡγεμο- | the famous governor, |
| νῆα στῆσε φίλη | the friendly council |
| βουλὴ τῶν Ἀφροδισίεω(ν)· | of the Aphrodisians |
| τῶι γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ- | has set you up here; |
| να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον | for what greater reward |
| εὑρεῖν μνημοσύ- | than that of being well remembered |
| νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πά- | can the man find who is |
| ρεστι γέρας; | pure in mind and in hand?"[29] |

Notable in this inscription is the allusion to Oecumenius' bilingualism, being skilled in both Greek and Latin, which points to a practical aspect of Roman rule in the Greek East.[30] The official language of the Imperial government was Latin; since laws and verdicts were given and published in Latin, even the majority of the subjects in the east most likely were not able to understand them.[31] The language of the elite in the East was Greek, although some governors might not necessarily have been able to communicate in Greek. The fact that Oecumenius knew both was a great compliment to him, and obviously worth mentioning as praise.

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[29] Translation by Roueché (1989), no. 31. Inan-Rosenbaum (1966), 181, no. 244.

[30] Ševčenko (1968), 32–3.

[31] Ševčenko (1968), 32, even an educated man such as "Libanius needed a translator to learn the contents of an imperial letter sent to the praetorian prefect and put at his disposal." Libanius, *Epistula* 434, "before ever you wrote to me I knew of it from the letters which reach our noble Strategius (= Praetorian Prefect), for he gave me your letter to him, and that with which our most excellent emperor addressed the Senate about you. I learned of its contents by means of a translator and was highly delighted." ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἐπιστεῖλαί σε πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτα ᾔδειν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον ἡκόντων Στρατήγιον γραμμάτων. ἔδωκε γὰρ ἅ τε σὺ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἃ περὶ σοῦ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ πάντα ἀγαθὸς ἔγραψε βασιλεύς. ἃ δὴ δι' ἑρμηνέως ὅ τι εἴη μαθόντες ὑπερεχαίρομεν.

IV. *Palmatus* (*PLRE* II, Palmatus 2), *consularis* of Caria, late fifth century:

Text:

᾿Αγαθη Τυχῃ.
Τὸν ἀνανεωτὴν
καὶ κτίστην τῆς μητροπό(λεως)
καὶ εὐεργέτην πάσης
Καρίας Φλ(άβιον) Παλμάτον
τὸν περίβλ(επτον) ὑπα(τικὸν) κ(αὶ) [ἐπαίχο(ντα)
τὸν τόπον τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου)
βικαρίου Φλ(άβιος) ᾿Αθηνέος
ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) πατὴρ τῆς λαμπρ(ότατης) ᾿Αφροδ(εισιέων)
[μητροπό(λεως) εὐχαρωτῶν ἀνέθηκεν.

Translation:

"To Good Fortune.
For the restorer
and founder of the metropolis,
benefactor of the whole of Caria,
Flavius Palmatus, admired *consularis* and
also holding the position of the most magnificent
vicar: Flavius Atheneus
the most splendid father of the most splendid metropolis
of the Aphrodisians set this up in gratitude."[32]

In Palmatus' case, the mention of his two offices assists the dating of his inscription. Before the mid—or late—fifth century, governors of Caria had been *praesides*, but by the time of the *Synecdemus* (early sixth century)[33] they had become *consulares*. Palmatus' title of *consularis*, therefore, indicates a date after the change. His double function as Vicar of Asia must point to a date before 535, when Justinian (*Novella* 8) abolished the office of this particular vicariate.[34]

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[32] Inan-Rosenbaum (1979), no. 208. Robert (1948), 14, and Roueché (1989), 102.
[33] See chapter one, the section *Governors, their position, titles and ranks*, for more discussion on the *Synecdemus*.
[34] See Roueché (1989), 103, who explains that the privilege of holding this double function was not necessarily only for the governors of Caria.

V. *Stephanus* (*PLRE* II, Stephanus 3), *proconsul* of Asia, early sixth century:

Text:

Εἰθυδίκῃ Στεφάνῳ καθαρῆς μετὰ μόχθον ἀ[π]ήνης
εἴκονα λαιέην στήσατο πᾶσα πόλις,
ἔπρεπε Νάξον ἔχειν τέκος ὄλβιον, ἥ ῥα καὶ αὐτόν
θρέψατο κισσοφόρον Βάκχον ἐς εὐφροσύνην.

Translation:

"For the righteous judging Stephanus after the labor of the pure chariot
the whole city set up a stone statue;
It was fitting for Naxos to have this blessed offspring, for she
raised him too as an ivy-wreathed Bacchus with good cheer."[35]

Here is an example of the vague terminology characteristic of honorific inscriptions in the Later Roman Empire: as mentioned above, the factual career inscriptions virtually had disappeared, and verse became the popular medium to honor governors.[36] Also, both Alexander and Stephanus show a governor with εὐφροσύνη, 'good cheer', of which the meaning is not quite clear. Roueché suggests that εὐφροσύνη had both the meaning of 'delight', and of 'banquet' and the joy of a festive occasion; for both Stephanus and Alexander εὐφροσύνη "was manifested in their generous and hospitable entertainment, which must have formed an important part of a governor's duties."[37]

My sample of five inscriptions shows some of the general trends that have been found in these honorary inscriptions as illustrated by the work of Robert, Ševčenko, Roueché and Horster.[38] This set of five mainly serves to illustrate some of the common elements. In his article on one of the governors' statues, Ševčenko presented a scheme of three recurring motifs in honorary epigrams for governors: praise of governors' justice, of their incorruptibility, and an emphasis on their dealings with the Muses, which in his view was

[35] *IK* 14 Eph. 1310, See also *BÉ* 1961,536.

[36] See also the example of Nonnus (*IK* 14 Eph. 1308), who is called a charioteer as reference to his office, mentioned above in the section on the nature of inscriptions.

[37] Roueché (1989), 56. See *Hell.* 10, 199, n. 7, for a discussion of εὐφροσύνη in the more specific meaning of 'banquet.'

[38] Robert (1948), Ševčenko (1968), Roueché (1989) and Horster (1998).

a means to honor their culture, both literary and artistic.[39] With respect to jurisdiction, both Alexander and Stephanus are regarded as righteous judges, whereas Oecumenius was apparently knowledgeable about the laws.[40] The allusion to Damocharis' wisdom could suggest wisdom in court. As far as incorruptibility is concerned—a virtue stressed repeatedly in literature and laws as well—both Oecumenius and Stephanus are praised for their 'clean' governorship.[41] The muses are present in these inscriptions as well: Damocharis is praised for his ability to sing, and Oecumenius' involvement with the Italian muse is the cause of his ability in Latin.[42]

As discussed in the previous chapters, general themes on governors in literary and legal sources—provincials' wishes and demands for a governor who is accessible, fair, honest, incorruptible as judge, benefactor and administrator—recur in the inscriptions. The individual governor honored with a statue and inscription in which he is praised as 'founder' (κτίστης),[43] 'benefactor' (εὑργέτης), 'giving right judgment' (ἰθυδίκης) or 'savior' (σῶτηρ), can be regarded not only as a provincial expression of praise for an individual governor who has turned out to be good, but also as an demonstration of their hopes for an ideal governor. In particular, Palmatus' inscription has many of the standard epithets for governors: restorer, founder and benefactor. Repeated laws and literary evidence citing governors as corrupt, unfair judges and incompetent administrators, point to a reality that was far from the ideal.[44] When governors did show genuine concern for provincials during their term of office, it was worth publicly praising them. An understanding, however, of the meaning of inscriptions on statue bases cannot be complete without consideration of the statues accompanying them. Interpretation of the monument in its entirety is essential for an understanding of provincials'

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[39] Ševčenko (1968), 30.

[40] See Robert (1948), 24–114, on imperial officials being praised for justice. See Ševčenko (1968, 30) for examples in both contemporary literature and inscriptions of others governors who were considered wise and knowledgeable in the laws.

[41] See Ševčenko (1968), 35–6.

[42] See Ševčenko (1968), 32–4.

[43] See Roueché (1989), 19: "Κτίστης is a standard epithet, and need mean no more than that he was responsible for a building; but as Robert pointed out, it is often used of a person who has acted as a 'founder' by obtaining privileges for a community." See Robert (1948), 116, and (1956), 317.

[44] See chapter five on criticism on governors for a discussion of this same terminology and an analysis of provincials' critical attitudes toward governors.

attitudes toward this type of commemoration and of its significance for governors individually and collectively. In the next section I refer to the five statues associated with the inscriptions presented above.

### *Governors' statues*

When provincials—be it individuals, communities or the province at large—were pleased with a governor's achievements, their *boule* or council could decide to set up an honorary statue for him. Not only is an analysis of governors' statues essential for a complete interpretation of provincials' image of governors, but statues also offer an unique opportunity to see how governors may have looked physically. They show how governors dressed, and give a glimpse of them as individuals. In addition, statues demonstrate how material images of governors appeared physically within a provincial community.[45] For a truly complete interpretation of the meaning of these statues we would have to look, ideally, at a large number of statues from many different sites and provinces, preferably in the context of their original location. Ideally, they would also survive with inscribed bases. The reality is far from this ideal; not many statues have survived that can firmly be identified as governors, nor are many to be found in their original location. Nevertheless, despite these initial pessimistic observations, remarkable work has been accomplished by archaeologists and art historians, especially at the sites of Ephesus and Aphrodisias. Their work allows me to take some examples of identified governors' statues and ask how provincials looked at them. What did the presence of these statues in their communities mean to them?

In this section I introduce five statues of the governors whose inscriptions were presented above: Alexander, Damocharis, Oecumenius, Palmatus and Stephanus. Before I address the issue of what the presence of these statues in a provincial community meant to its inhabitants, I need to discuss some of the basic questions involved: how many statues are left, how did they look, and when and where were they erected?

As far as the evidence is concerned, how many statues are left? Dozens of statues, or pieces of statues, for instance torsos or heads,

[45] Smith (1999), 156.

have been found which could have been images of governors, but unfortunately cannot be securely identified as governors, let alone as a specific individual governor.[46] Especially, when remains are found scattered throughout an archaeological site, it has proven difficult to put different pieces together, and to assemble a torso, head and inscription that belong together. To illustrate this point with the example of the well-documented site of Aphrodisias, about fifty items of late antique sculpture have been found there, of which approximately twenty-five are statues and another twenty-five are heads.[47] There are about thirty-four inscribed bases as well, some of which must no doubt have belonged to the statues, though often it is difficult to establish a connection when the finds are very scattered. So far, six statues have been securely matched up with their bases, although not all are governors. In general, with so many unidentified statues, the best scholars can do is label them as being of 'high officials.'[48]

[46] See for instance Foss (1983), 213–17, in which he discusses a group of statues from Greece (four from Corinth, one from Megara and two from Athens) which could be governors' statues. Especially the four from Corinth seem good candidates to be governors, but Foss has to conclude that "certain identifications are not possible, but at least a limited range of probabilities may be suggested: in Greece, proconsuls, praetorian prefect, and philosophers." Four statues from Athens, Kollwitz (1941), 89–91, nos. 13–16; statue from Megara, Kollwitz (1941), 91, 109; two statues from Corinth, Kollwitz (1941), 91, nos. 18–19. See also Ševčenko (1968), 38, who would likewise be leaning toward identifying the four statues from Corinth and the one from Megara as governors. In addition, he would also classify two other statues, called the Elder and the Younger Magistrate and both in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, as governors: "there is no absolute certitude that the so-called Elder Magistrate was, as Oikoumenios, a praeses of Caria. However, the historical context makes it more likely that he, his younger companion from Aphrodisias, the four *chlamydati* of Corinth, and the one of Megara were governors rather than municipal magistrates." Therefore, Ševčenko prefers to call the statue of the Elder Magistrate, the statue of the Elder Governor. See also Horster (1998), 47–8, for a discussion of several governors' statues found in the western part of the Roman Empire.

[47] Smith (1999), 161.

[48] Horster (1998), 45. For an example of difficulties with interpretations, see Foss (1983), 202–03, who discusses the case of a bust that—based on the clear remnants of the toga and the accompanying inscription—he wants to identify with a governor named Eutropius. His bust represents a toga with the following inscription on its base: τήνδε φιλαγρύπνων ὀλίγην χάριν εὕραο μόχθων | Εὐτρόπιε, ζαθέης Ἐφέσου θάλος, οὕνεκα πάτρην | μαρμαρέαις κόσμησας εὐστρώτοισιν ἀγυιαῖς. "You have found a small thanks for your sleepless labors, Eutropius, child of sacred Ephesus, wherefore you have adorned your father land with marble paved streets." Even though Foss believes that the bust of Eutropius represents a governor based on this language, I am not so sure; Eutropius could also have been a local benefactor for

# ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Statue of Alexander, praeses Phrygiae, with inscribed base, from Aphrodisias, Geyre (Aphrodisias) Museum, marble, late 4th /early 5th century. Photograph by the New York University's Aphrodisias Excavation.

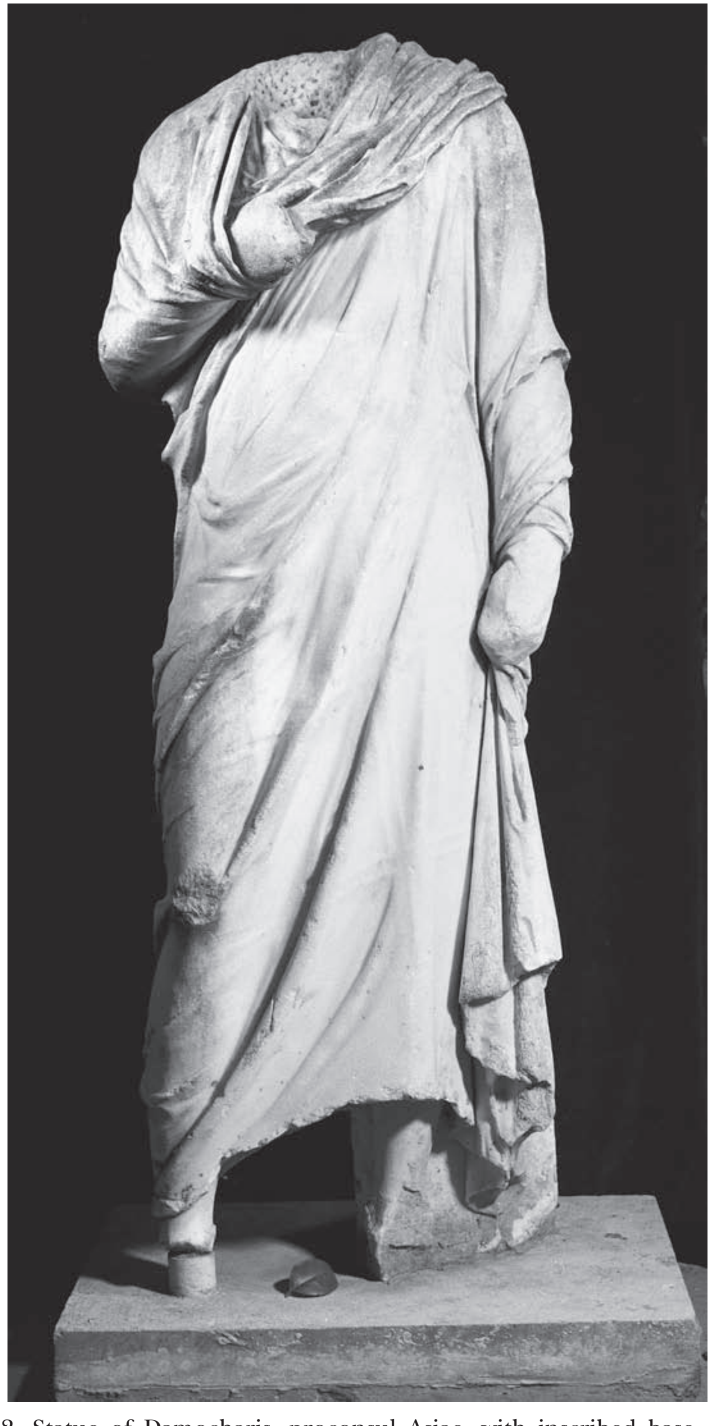

Fig. 2. Statue of Damocharis, proconsul Asiae, with inscribed base, from Ephesus, Archaeological Museum Selçuk-Ephesus, marble, 4th / 5th century. Photograph by the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna.

Fig. 3. Statue of Oecumenius, praeses Cariae, with inscribed base, from Aphrodisias, Geyre (Aphrodisias) Museum, marble, first half of the 5th century. Photograph by the New York University's Aphrodisias Excavation.

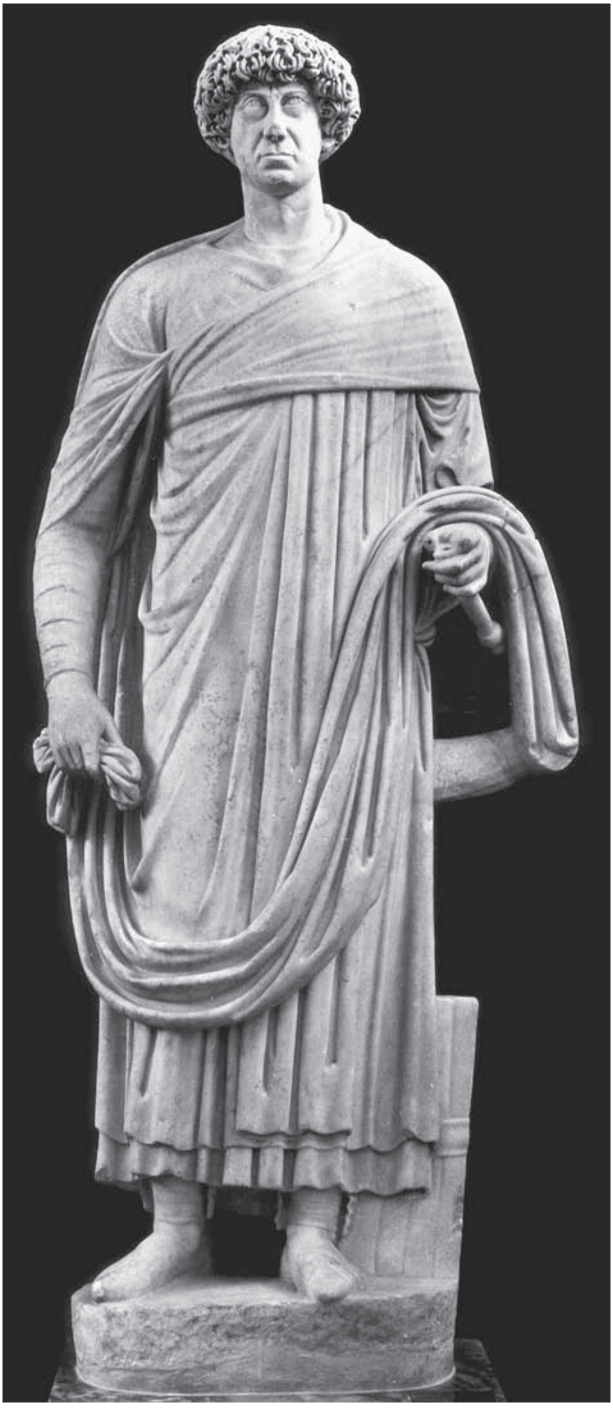

Fig. 4. Statue of Palmatus, consularis Cariae, with inscribed base, from Aphrodisias, Geyre (Aphrodisias) Museum, marble, late 5th century. Photograph by the New York University's Aphrodisias Excavation.

Fig. 5. Statue of Stephanus, proconsul Asiae, with inscribed base, from Ephesus, Archaeological Museum Selçuk-Ephesus, marble, early sixth century. Photograph by the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna.

Here I will examine only statues that are securely identified as governors and for which we have both statue and inscription, so that it is possible statue to identify the statue with a particular individual who is a governor for certain.[49] Five statues fit this category, and their main characteristics appear in the chart below; see also the photographs of the statues.

| *name* | *governorship* | *statue type* | *find place* | *date* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alexander (I)[50] | praeses Phrygiae | chlamydatus (no head) | Aphrodisias | 4th/5th cent. |
| Damocharis (II)[51] | proconsul Asiae | togatus (no head) | Ephesus | 4th/5th cent. |
| Oecumenius (III)[52] | praeses Cariae | chlamydatus | Aphrodisias | 1st half 5th cent. |
| Palmatus (IV)[53] | consularis Cariae | togatus | Aphrodisias | late 5th cent. |
| Stephanus (V)[54] | proconsul Asiae | togatus | Ephesus | early 6th cent.[55] |

whom this bust was set up. Foss also argues that the epigrams reflect another important duty of governor, public works: "Eutropius, then, may be regarded as another proconsul of Asia, and as one whose monument was in an especially appropriate place, since it stood on a street paved with reused marble: the bust adorned the work." Here, as well, I am not sure if the reference to public works necessarily means that Eutropius was a governor. Governors were responsible for public works, but adornment and beautifying could also be accomplished by local benefactors. The fact that Eutropius came from Ephesus could suggest that he is more likely to have been a local benefactor, because by law governors were not supposed to come from the province they governed. See also Horster (1998), 47, who similarly objects to the identification of Eutropius as governor.

[49] See Smith (1999), 160, for the observation that only statues from Aphrodisias and Ephesus are well enough preserved and documented to be actually studied as an entity.

[50] Smith (1999).

[51] Miltner (1958).

[52] Smith (1999 and 2002). The head of Oecumenius was recently (Smith 2002) identified as his, based on a different monument with a similar head set up for a governor on Cyprus also called Oecumenius.

[53] Smith (1999).

[54] Foss (1983).

[55] This date given by Foss (1983), 199–200, is in disagreement with Ševčenko (1968), 35, who dates the epigram of Stephanus to the late fourth century. See Foss for more arguments for dating the statue to the early years of Justinian. I follow Foss.

It is difficult to say how many governors' statues were actually erected. Potentially, with a new governor in office every two years if not sooner, many statues would or could have been set up. If one were to do a calculation, and take into account the well over hundred provinces of the Empire for the period between A.D. 300 and 500, and with a term of office that was on average less than two years, potentially, there could have been as many as one hundred statues per province, with 10,000 statues for the whole of the empire. Even though, clearly, there are problems with this type of argument and calculation, from the view point of interpretation, as discussed later in this chapter, it is still worthwhile to speculate about the number of governors' statues, if only to draw attention to the potentially overwhelming presence of these statues in provincial communities, even if, say, of every four governors only one would receive a statue. At the same time, some governors could have been honored with more than one statue. Another problem with the calculation is that it assumes that statues were never taken down, but were crowding the streets of provincial cities. In the following sections, it will be demonstrated that statues were, indeed, recycled, which was a clear indication that statues were taken down after a certain period of time, and that the impact of individual statues must have been transitory.

How did governors' statues appear? As to size, they are larger than life; statue and base together are usually between 3 and 3.5 meters in height.[56] In comparison to the early and middle imperial statues standing on "tall, elegant, heavily moulded bases that carried precisely cut texts," late antique statues were smaller and on "re-used bases with unprofessionally cut inscriptions."[57]

To date, torsos of governors' statues of the Later Roman Empire are known to have one of two forms; either they are wearing a chlamys (*chlamydatus*) or a toga (*togatus*). The chlamys was a long, thick cloak that was fastened at the right shoulder, worn over a long-sleeved tunic and reaching down as far as the ankles.[58] The footwear to go with this type of statue is a pair of plain boots. Both Alexander (Figure I) and Oecumenius (Figure III) are wearing the chlamys. However, it was not worn exclusively by governors. It was evidently

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[56] Horster (1998), 59.
[57] Smith (1999), 160.
[58] See Smith (1999), 176–77, for more details on the chlamys and its origins. Also Foss (1983), 205–206.

a garment that was associated with office and imperial government, as it was worn by emperors, princes and high ranking members of the court and military in Constantinople.[59] In the provinces, the chlamys was clearly associated with the office of governor, and the military origins of the dress would be a clear reference to a governor's office being linked to the *militia*.[60]

The late Roman toga as seen in the examples of Stephanus (Figure V), Damocharis (Figure II) and Palmatus (Figure IV) was by origin the dress of consuls, though by this time slightly modified and therefore clearly identified as late Roman.[61] The late Roman toga was a more compact uniform than the traditional piece of clothing, worn with two undergarments: a long-sleeved tunic down to the upper ankle and another tunic that reached down to just above that of the undertunic.[62] Foss called this type of toga the East Roman toga, because a "wide piece of drapery descends from the right shoulder, forms a deep *sinus* in front, and is taken up on the left hand."[63] Because the ankles and feet were more exposed than in the chlamydati statues, there was more room for a detailed presentation of the boots, which were cross-strapped senatorial boots (*calcei patricii*).[64]

There has been much controversy among scholars as to who these *togatus* statues represented. Foss was the first to demonstrate that late antique *togatus* statues in the provinces did not represent consuls or civic magistrates, but should be identified as governors, or as proconsuls of Asia for his purpose, since he was looking at a group of statues from Ephesus.[65] Smith, in his conclusion about *togatus* statues, stated that "consuls in Rome and Constantinople naturally wear the toga, but consular governors and Vicars in the provinces outside could

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[59] Smith (1999), 177.

[60] See Ševčenko (1968), 36–8, for a rejection of an earlier interpretation of the toga statues in the province as belonging to local magistrates such as *politeuomenoi* and members of the boule. Instead, he argued that these statues were exclusively governors' statues, though Smith (1999), 177, would like to keep the interpretation rather broader: "the primary association of the chlamys in a provincial city might have been with the figure of the governor, but it was demonstrably not exclusive to his images." For governors being part of the *militia*, see chapter one, the section *The governor's office*.

[61] Smith (1999), 178–79. Also, Foss (1983), 197.

[62] Smith (1999), 178.

[63] Foss (1983), 197.

[64] Smith (1999), 179. The boots were the same as the senatorial boots of the Early Empire. Also Talbert (1984), 219–20 on senatorial footwear.

[65] See Foss' entire article on Stephanus (1983).

wear either the toga or the chlamys. [. . .] Statues of lower-ranking governors seem to prefer the chlamys, but if the subjects were of senatorial rank they might presumably also wear a toga."[66] This last possibility is demonstrated by Palmatus, who was *consularis Cariae* after the province's governorship was upgraded from *praeses* to *consularis*, and who opted to wear a toga, since presumably he himself financed the statue, and thus might have had some say in the statue's design.

Oecumenius is holding a scroll in his right hand; other late Roman statues are known with this same attribute although they have not been securely identified as governors.[67] Several interpretations are possible: perhaps the scroll was a general attribute of literary education and culture, but perhaps more specifically it represented the official papers of the governor's appointment.[68] As seen in chapter three on the governor as benefactor and in chapter four on the speeches and poem in praise of governors, communication between the elite and governors occurred especially along the lines of a common culture and education. The correspondence of Libanius, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus with governors shows constant reminders of that shared culture. In any case, the scroll can be viewed in this context too, as a symbol of the legitimacy of a governor's office, be it through his education and culture or his official appointment.

Two of the governors hold the mappa in their right hands, either at waist level (Palmatus) or in a raised hand (Stephanus).[69] The mappa was a well-known attribute of consuls who in Constantinople and Rome would officially start games by waving or dropping their mappa. Smith wants to put the use of the mappa in a broader perspective. There are scenes on the Theodosian Obelisk base in Constantinople, in which several people throughout the stands of a stadium appear holding and waving the mappa. Smith therefore argued that the mappa was not necessarily an indication of rank, but "merely part of the late antique urban and civilian dress code."[70]

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[66] Smith (1999), 180

[67] Ševčenko (1968), 37; the so-called Elder Magistrate, whom Ševčenko proposed to call the Elder governor, is also holding a scroll in his right hand. Foss (1983), 198. Some figures also have a bundle of scrolls by their feet.

[68] Smith (1999), 177–78.

[69] Foss (1983), 197.

[70] Smith (1999), 180. For plates of all the sides of the Theodosian obelisk, see Safran (1993).

In a provincial context, especially when governors are portrayed carrying the mappa as part of an honorific statue, I believe it has a more defined meaning. I would associate it with the custom of governors starting provincial games, even though here, too, Smith places the value of the mappa in a broader context: "in the local context of our provincial toga statues, the mappa can then be understood as a part of the new dress toga suit, an item of Constantinopolitan fashion, and when held up in the raised right hand a populist expression of enthusiastic participation in the people's entertainments or more simply as a gesture of greeting address to the public (and viewer)."[71]

Technical evidence indicates a further aspect of these statues. Apparently, there was a separate production process for head and torso, since the material evidence points to heads being attached to torsos with a dowel. This seems to imply that torsos, or heads, could be reused for different governors. Various inscriptions on different sides of statue bases prove that statue bases were also reused.[72] Torsos were produced in a fairly standard form, whereas heads were sculpted individually.[73] In his article on the statue of Stephanus, Foss implies that torsos might have been produced en masse: "They could evidently be made in quantity or at leisure and stored, awaiting the time when a portrait head would be inserted to give them individuality."[74] Foss continues his argument with the consideration that this mass production might be the result of either a high demand for these statues in Ephesus because of their common dress type (*togatus*), or the rapid succession of governors calling for new statues.[75] This view presents the problem, however, of why torsos needed to be available in mass quantities, if heads could be so easily replaced.

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[71] Smith (1999), 180.

[72] See Horster (1998), 43, for a discussion of the reuse of statue bases. For instance, *IK* 13 Eph. 621 and *IK* 14 Eph. 1303 are inscriptions on different sides of one base, both as parts of governors' statues: L. Artorius Pius Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 43) and re-used for Damocharis (*PLRE* II, p. 344). Another example: *IK* 14 Eph. 1307 and 1312; epigram for Messalinus (*PLRE* I, Messalinus 1), re-used for Aelius Claudius Dulcitius (*PLRE* I, Dulcitius 5). That the time period between the first use and the re-use was not always long is shown by *IRT* 562 and 475 for Flavius Archontius Nilus (*PLRE* I, Nilus 1) comes and praeses, re-used for Nicomachus Flavianus ag.v. PPO (*PLRE* I, Flavianus 15).

[73] See Foss (1979), 67, and Foss (1983), 198. Also Stewart (2003), 47.

[74] Foss (1983), 198.

[75] See chapter one on the rapid turnover of governors.

One would only need to change the head on a statue, and carve a new inscription to serve a new client. Only a few torsos would then be needed, but in this case we might expect to find many more heads than torsos.[76] That might be a mistaken approach to the practical side of setting up these statues, however. Perhaps the carving of the head and of the torso required different skills, meaning that the carving of the former required more intricate work and would be done by someone other than the stone mason cutting the torso. In any case, a torso can be regarded more as the representation of the office, and the head the individual governor.

To illustrate the practice of reusing parts of old statues, remarkable features of the torso of Alexander (Figure I) and the head of Stephanus (Figure V) should be noted. Alexander's head is missing, but it was presumably the only "freshly carved part of the monument," because the torso had clearly been recycled from a second-century monument.[77] The Phrygians commissioned the statue of Alexander to be sent to Aphrodisias. If the torso was already there, that seems to imply that the Phrygians perhaps only sent the head, as Roueché argues.[78] In the case of Stephanus, it is worth noting that his head was actually reworked from a larger, earlier piece "whose ears have left traces amid the locks of Stephanus' hair."[79] Thus, not only torsos could be re-used, but heads—arguably the more 'individualistic' and distinctive feature of a statue—were also re-used and re-cut.

How far, then, do we gain a glimpse of how individual governors really looked? To what extent is the physical likeness still an ideal image, and to what extent an individual likeness or portrait? On the one hand, the statues all have a set of common features in their clothing, posture and gestures that makes them identifiable as governors, or at least as higher officials. On the other hand, they have individual characteristics that are mainly expressed in the facial traits, and it is possible to distinguish quite clearly between Oecumenius, Palmatus or Stephanus. To what extent the statues reflected reality

[76] Foss (1983), 198–99.
[77] Smith (1999), 167.
[78] Roueché (1989), 56, "it seems quite likely that what was sent was simply the head."
[79] See Foss (1983), 199, who based this point on studies by Oberleitner (1959), 88–94, and Sande (1975), 85–7.

as opposed to an ideal image of these men, is much more difficult to judge. All are portrayed as physically authoritative, in the prime of their life, with a severity in their posture and gestures that indicates that they themselves are serious individuals capable of fulfilling the important duties of a governorship. Ultimately, one may perhaps be tempted to imagine that we do catch a glimpse of the real Oecumenius while looking at his statue—a glimpse of a man with curly hair and friendly eyes, but also a governor, and perhaps above all someone who belonged to the elite of the Roman Empire, and was honored because he had proved himself as part of that elite.

Statues were only set up after a governor's term of office. In the Principate, as early as A.D. 11, Augustus issued an edict that governors could not be honored by their province during their term of office, but had to be out of office for at least sixty days.[80] Perhaps Augustus was concerned for provincial subjects who might be pressured by governors using their authority to angle for honors improperly. In the Later Roman Empire this imperial ruling was reinforced by another law that forbade governors to accept statues of whatever material (bronze, metal or marble) during their term of office, with the warning that those who did accept these honors would be punished.[81] Exceptions could be granted to this ruling, but only by the emperor himself.

[80] Dio Cassius 56.25.6, καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἑξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναί σφας τιμήν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. "He also issued an proclamation to the subjects forbidding them to bestow any honors upon a person assigned to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after his departure; this was because some governors by arranging beforehand for testimonials and eulogies from their subjects were causing much harm." See also Horster (1998), 57.

[81] *Codex Justinianus* 1.24.1 of 398 to the Praetorian Prefect of the East, *si quis iudicum accepisse aeneas vel argenteas vel marmoreas statuas extra imperiale beneficium in administratione positus detegetur, emolumenta, quae acceperit in ea positus dignitate, quam polluit, cum extortis titulis vel praesumtis in quadruplum fisco nostro inferat simulque noverit existimationis suae poenam se subiturum.* "If it comes to light that someone of the judges (= governors) has accepted statues of bronze, silver or marble while being appointed in administration without imperial permission, he will have to bring into our fiscus in fourfold the rewards that he accepted during his term of office, which he polluted with honors extorted and presumed, and simultaneously he will know that he will undergo punishment for his reputation." See Horster (1998), 57, and Feissel (1984).

Up to at least the beginning of the fifth century, cities themselves appear to have paid for statues from their own revenues.[82] This changed in 444, however, when the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III ruled that a governor had to pay for his own statue: "we order that the statue of the man, for whom this honor is requested, is set up through his own expenses."[83] A decline in the number of statues and inscriptions can be explained as a result of this law as Horster has argued, because governors might not want to spend their money on statues.[84] In the case of the statues of both Palmatus and Stephanus this ruling would have meant that they themselves had financed the monuments.

As discussed in the section on inscriptions, cities or city councils, individuals, or a province at large through its koinon, all set up statues with the inscriptions.[85] As forms of public display, they were set up in places where many people came regularly and where the function of honoring an individual gave most prominence to both statue and individual.[86] In short, the best location was in the civic center of the larger communities, mostly the provincial capitals: in fora, on the main street, or at theaters.[87] The statues of Stephanus and Damocharis, for instance, both stood on Embolos street in Ephesus, which was the center of the city, an area filled with shops, statues and monumental public buildings.[88] In Aphrodisias, on the other hand, the statue of Oecumenius was set up inside a double stoa in front of the Bouleuterion in the North Agora; Alexander's statue stood to the west of Oecumenius'.[89] Palmatus, also in Aphrodisias,

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[82] See *AE* (1922), 17, in which the community of Madaura mentioned in the inscription that it had financed the monument, *propria pecunia*. Normally, this aspect would not be referred to, because it would be assumed that the city had paid for it. See Horster (1998), 54 for more examples.

[83] *Codex Justinianus* 1.24.4, *sed eius, cuius ad honorem petitur, expensis propriis statuam collocari praecipimus*.

[84] See Horster (1998), 57.

[85] Horster (1998), 49. See Roueché (1989), no. 41, for an example of an individual, Dulcitius, who set up a statue for a governor. See also a Latin inscription from Seleukia Pieria in which the tribunus Atilius Secundus honored Arrius Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 33), the *consularis* of Syria Coele; *IGLS* 3.1141 dated to the fourth century, but perhaps the third; see Thomasson (1984), 317, n. 89.

[86] See Stewart (2003), 136, for the argument that in order for individual statues to be noticeable among many other statues they "almost *had* to be in the way."

[87] Horster (1998), 39–40.

[88] Foss (1979), 66.

[89] Smith (1999), 157 (general plan of the city center of Aphrodisias in the middle imperial period), 162, and 167 (find-plan of portrait statues and bases in north stoa of the North Agora and Bouleuterion).

was placed in front of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon in front of the theater.[90] Smith has noted that for the late Roman world, at least in Aphrodisias, statues now tended to stand in front of older monuments and were not part of "programmed architectural frames—niches and columnar façades—where they would seem withdrawn from the viewer."[91] Smith has argued that the generally smaller scale of the statues could be explained by the fact that they are in places more central to public space and the 'circulating citizens.'[92]

Statues, however, were not always set up in public places, and not always in the province where a governor held his office. They could be set up in a governor's hometown or home province as in the case of Alexander, who had been governor in Phrygia, but was honored with a statue in Aphrodisias. Statues could even been erected in a governor's house. One striking example comes from the city of Rome, where Alfenius Ceionius Julianus (*PLRE* I, Julianus 25), who had been governor of Numidia between 374–380, was honored by two statues set up in his own house, both by different members of his *officium*, the *cornicularius* Restitutus and one Januarius (Nym?)fidius and his colleagues.[93]

In considering what these statues with their inscriptions meant to provincials, it is also important to understand what statues meant to governors themselves, not only to the individual governors praised with the particular monument, but also to governors in general. Why was it important for governors to be praised with a statue? To answer this last question first, when provincials, either an individual, community or province at large, decided to erect a monument for a governor after his term of office, they acknowledged publicly a governor's presence in their province. Since a governor would not come from the province he ruled, why was it important to him to have a statue in his memory in a place where he would not stay after his term of office? What did such a monument mean to him, especially after 444, when he would have had to finance the statue himself? On the one hand, it was a type of monument that would be put up in the civic center of a community, most likely in the provincial capital,

[90] See Smith (1999), 170, for the find-plan of the statues and bases at the West Tetrastoon in front of the theater.

[91] Smith (1999), 170.

[92] Smith (1999), 171.

[93] Horster (1998), 50. *CIL* 6. 1675 + 31902 for Restitutus, *CIL* 6.31940 for Januarius. For *cornicularius* see chapter one, on the members of a governor's *officium*.

for future generations to gaze at in remembrance of a once great man who had been an impressive restorer and benefactor to their province. In this way, as Gregory of Nazianzus also acknowledged, a statue was "an image to be seen by people in the future."[94] If nothing else, this was a flattering prospect to a man who was a member of the empire's elite, to whom public display of honor would be extremely important. Such a public mark of honor and distinction not only made him stand out among the elite, but would also be advantageous if he wanted to advance into higher offices for which he needed to catch the emperor's attention. In this respect, these statues can be regarded as visual expressions and definitions of a new political culture in which public display of honor and virtue was part of being a respected member of the culture.[95]

On the other hand, however, if one takes into consideration the few statues that were evidently set up in comparison to the vast number of governors who must have served a term of office, then these, more than ever, perhaps represented an ideal image. The general terminology of their inscriptions, the re-use of materials, the rapid turnover of governors, all raise the issue of the genuineness of the praise. Were the men honored really that remarkable or exemplary for their great virtue and exceptional achievements? Or should we perhaps see here more a reflection of provincial hopes and expectations, given that the evidence of literary and legal sources points time and again to governors who were corrupt, who did not care about provincial interests, and were focused solely on personal gain? Can we credit that the statues set up are, indeed, of governors who were exceptional in their efforts for the provincials? Had provincials' ideals been fulfilled in these cases? In his discussion of the statue and inscription of Stephanus, Foss is aware of this tension between reality and ideal, and of the difficulties that scholars face in their attempts to analyze ancient monuments: "It is, of course, not possible to tell whether the phrase of this and similar epigrams represents praise of an exceptionally honorable governor, or merely wishful thinking on the part of the civic officials who erected the statues."[96]

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[94] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmen* II.2.7.17, εἶδος ὁρώμενον ἐσσομένοισιν. See chapter four, the section *Gregory of Nazianzus: a poem for Nemesius.*
[95] Smith (1999), 159.
[96] Foss (1983), 201.

### *Praise: incentive or burden?*

The question of who benefited from commemoration and praise is closely connected to the success of governors' accomplishments seen through the eyes of provincials. Did it benefit a governor to act in the best interest of provincials, and to be sensitive toward their wishes and expectations? Certainly it did. Provincials were capable of expressing their needs and hopes clearly, be it through the voice of an orator in a speech of praise, or through the voice of the masses when directing acclamations at a governor. Governors had reason to hope that if they responded to provincials' wishes, a reward was waiting at the end of their term in the form of an honorary inscription and statue. Public display of praise was vital in a society in which status and honor were prerequisites for belonging to the elite. What better way to demonstrate a record of excellence to one's peers than by public signs of praise for virtue, honesty, incorruptibility and respect?

Public provincial praise was surely quite invaluable for governors, because it served not only as a form of communication between provincials and governors, but it could also be a message to higher officials, and in particular to the emperor, who in the end decided promotions to higher offices. In this respect, a statue could perhaps be seen in the same terms as the provincial letter of recommendation as discussed in chapter three. When a governor was regarded as conscientious by provincials, there were various means by which they could repay him for his efforts.

Ultimately, provincials and governors were mutually dependent. As argued in the third chapter, if a governor demonstrated that he was serving the interests of provincials, they were willing to ease his path, and vice versa. In the case of commemoration and praise, not only were provincials willing to please a governor if they were content with his actions, but they were also prepared to show their approval publicly by way of honorific inscriptions and statues. In the end, praise was an incentive for a governor to do well during his term of office, because there was recognition to be gained from it.

CHAPTER SIX

# PROVINCIALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNORS: CRITICISM AS A MIRROR IMAGE OF EXPECTATIONS

Whereas the earlier chapters have concentrated on provincial goodwill and satisfaction about a governor's performance, throughout the implication has been that provincial subjects who praise a governor for his benefactions and right judgments, equally can turn around and criticize him when they disagree with his actions.[1] When they were displeased and disappointed, how did they express their criticism? Where would they find a listening ear? Were there any consequences for provincials who had dared to voice their disapproval of an official who was a representative of the imperial government?

Clearly, provincials were often not content with the endeavors of their governor, and they were not shy in expressing their feelings of frustration. Different groups, though, had different ways of articulating their aggravation. There was a clear distinction between the critical attitudes of the provincial lower classes and of the elite, and how they expressed them. Generally, the masses did not have direct access to a governor, and one of the most important opportunities to demonstrate their resentment was at large public gatherings such as entertainment in the theater or the stadium, where they could shout their wishes in unison. This was not, however, the way that members of the elite would express their irritations. Their position and influence allowed them easier access to a governor, and even close contact with him. If a governor did not listen to them when they met with him officially at his *salutatio* or socially at a dinner party, they might contact higher officials or even the emperor, and voice their criticism directly to them, because these higher ranking individuals would be in a position to discipline a governor.

My concentration on criticism in this chapter will also demonstrate that those who criticized a governor exploited the same themes as those who praised him; it is possible to determine provincials'

[1] Especially in chapter two on the governor as judge there are several examples of provincial expressions of frustration and resentment.

expectations through their criticisms. Praise and blame are different sides of the same coin, since they both shed light not only on expectations of a governor's rule, but also on the way that communication between provincials and governors worked. The formulations of praise, as discussed in the fourth and fifth chapters, reveal striking similarities with the ways in which criticism was expressed by provincials.

In the first part of this chapter, the masses and their means of reproving governors are discussed. In the second part, two case studies from the works of Libanius and Synesius of Cyrene respectively illustrate how prominent provincials attempted to remove a governor from office, with the use of marked outspokenness.

## *The power of acclamations*

In the last chapter acclamations were shown as an instrument of the masses to honor a governor upon his arrival or for his presence at public entertainment and festivals. In the present chapter the power of acclamations as a tool of resistance and criticism is discussed. With the wishes of the provincial elite and the masses sometimes diametrically opposed to each other, governors had to try to please both groups, because both, if discontented, could undermine his tenure of office. In particular, acclamations were a tool for the masses to show their disgruntlement. In the first part of this section the potential pressure put on a governor in this way is the focal point, while in the second part some of the elite objections against acclamations are demonstrated.

It was generally accepted that acclamations consisted not only of praise and good wishes, but also of criticism, and even protest. Provincials knew that public demonstrations of their negative sentiments were allowed. Apart from Constantine's law that written records of acclamations with proof of both positive and negative provincial attitudes should be sent to the emperor for review,[2] an additional example of this tolerance is given by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric

[2] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.6, *ad provinciales* (= *Codex Justinianus* 1.40.3). See chapter four for an extensive discussion of the nature and practice of acclamations. Cf. *Codex Theodosianus* 12.12.9 of 382. See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 209, and Cameron (1976), 241, for more discussion on the semi-constitutional status of acclamations. Cf. Roueché (1984), 181–99.

(493–526), barbarian ruler though he might be. When men of the Green faction, supposedly, shouted abusive words at certain senators at public games in Rome, the senators arranged that these men should be attacked. Theodoric was asked to judge the case, and he declared that the senators were wrong, because they should tolerate verbal abuse by the masses at games.[3]

The power of the anonymous voice of the masses must not be underestimated. Individuals felt safe, or at least safer, to utter criticism in a large crowd, because the authorities would have difficulty distinguishing individuals and seeking them out for punishment.[4] Besides, a governor was trapped at such a large gathering and forced to listen to what was shouted at him.[5] The greater the number of people acclaiming and the louder the voice, the greater its impact. Acclamations were regarded as genuine evidence of popular sentiment. If the shouting of the people was not loud enough, or worse, if they were silent, when a governor entered a stadium, he would and should be worried, because he knew that something was wrong.[6] Libanius' portrayal of the governor Tisamenus and his experience with the masses provides us with a splendid example of how a governor might feel the tension in a theater if customary acclamations were left out:

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[3] *Cassiodorus Variae* 1.27.4–5, "But lest, perchance, men of exalted rank should be offended by the babbling of the mob, a distinction must be drawn as to such impertinence. A man who has injured a reverend senator as he passes by his insolence, cursing him when he ought to bless him, must be held responsible for a crime. But who looks for serious conduct at the public shows? A Cato never goes to the circus. Anything said there by the people as they celebrate should be deemed no injury. It is a place that protects excesses. Patient acceptance of their chatter is a proven glory of princes themselves. Those who are involved in such enthusiasm should answer me this question: if they hope that their opponents will keep quiet, they clearly desire their victory, since men break out into insults only when they are blushing for a shameful defeat. Why, then, do they choose to be angered at what they know they have certainly desired?" *Sed ne forsitan magnificos viros loquacitas popularis offenderit, praesumptionis huius habenda discretio est. Teneatur ad culpam quisquis transeunti reverentissimo senatori iniuriam protervus inflixit, si male optavit, cum bene loqui debuit. Mores autem graves in spectaculis quis requirat? Ad Circum nesciunt convenire Catones. Quidquid illic gaudenti populo dicitur, iniuria non putatur. Locus est qui defendit excessum. Quorum garrulitas si patienter accipitur, ipsos quoque principes ornare monstratur. Respondeant nobis certe qui talibus studiis occupantur, si tranquillos optant adversarios suos; certe volunt eos esse victores, quando ad iniurias tunc prosiliunt, cum se superatos turpiter erubescunt. Unde ergo irasci volunt, quod sine dubio se optasse cognoscunt?* Liebeschuetz (1972), 209–210.

[4] Seeck (1920), 85.

[5] Liebeschuetz (2001), 208–209.

[6] Liebeschuetz (1972), 209.

> On one occasion in the theater something or other occurred and kept the populace seated and silent. This fellow regarded that as a disaster, and showed his feelings in various ways, especially by his change of complexion. But he also had to acknowledge his discomfiture verbally, so it seemed. As he was being escorted home by a group of people, not more than twenty at most—a number small enough to make anyone ashamed—and as they began to utter some of the usual compliments which the better sort of governors used to stop, our fine fellow Tisamenus got down from his carriage and exclaimed, "Who has given you your tongues back then? You had not got them in the theater." Such were the remarks with which he debased himself and showed that he regarded their earlier attitude as a dead loss, and this as a clear gain.[7]

Tisamenus was well aware of the negative popular sentiment when the audience kept silent upon his entrance into the theater. The skilful governor would probably have kept silent himself, would have tried to find out what caused the negative opinion and would have tried to solve the issue, because popular disgruntlement could be a danger to public order if it came to riots. Tisamenus was not prudent, as Libanius was very willing to demonstrate, but openly showed his irritation afterwards, clearly demonstrating his insensitivity to popular sentiments and unwillingness to taking any blame for possible provincial frustration.

Popular demands in acclamations could refer to anything provincials were concerned about: the economy (food especially in times of famine, prices), politics and religion.[8] If governors did not listen to what the masses had to say, and did not try to deal with their criticism, the situation could quickly get out of hand. Acclamations could turn into demonstrations that could rapidly evolve into riots. Before a governor knew what was happening, he had to face serious disturbances of public order. The most famous riot in Antioch

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[7] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.12, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποτὲ συμβὰν οἶμαί τι τὸν δῆμον ἄφωνον ἐκάθισε. τοῦθ' οὗτος ἡγήσατο συμφορὰν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς τοῦτο δηλῶν καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ. ἔδει δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ πάθος, καί, προῦπεμπον γὰρ αὐτόν τινες οὐ πλείους ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσιν, ἐφ' ὅσοις ἄν τις ᾐσχυνθη, λεγόντων οὖν τινα τῶν εἰωθότων ἃ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ βελτίους ἔπαυον, καταβαίνων ὁ θαυμάσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ζεύγους Τισαμενύς, τίς ὑμῖν, ἔφη, τὰς γλώττας, ἀπέδωκεν; ὡς οὐκ ἦσάν γε ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. τοιούτοις αὐτὸν ῥήμασιν ἐποίησε ταπεινὸν μηνύσας ὡς τὸ μὲν ζημίαν, τὸ δὲ ἡγοῖτο κέρδος.

[8] Water in baths not warm enough (Libanius, *Oratio* 36.5, 27.13); regulation of shopkeepers (*Oratio* 45.4); use of false measures (*Oratio* 46.10, 29.2): Liebeschuetz (1972), 210. Cf. Alan Cameron (1976), 272.

was no doubt the Riot of the Statues of 387, which developed out of protests against a new tax and turned into one of the greatest disturbances in the city's history, during which imperial statues and images all over the city were broken.[9] The city was so out of control that the emperor had to send some of his own officials to intervene and restore order, because the governor Celsus (*PLRE* I, Celsus 5) had been unable to do anything.[10] In one of his speeches to appease the emperor after the city's misbehavior, Libanius asked him not to punish Celsus, since he argued that the governor had been in a difficult position and should deserve honor.[11] The lower classes of the city clearly had had a different opinion of Celsus.

A year after the Riot, in an acclamation in support of the current governor Lucianus (*PLRE* I, Lucianus 6), the people of Antioch told the newly appointed governor Eustathius (*PLRE* I, Eustathius 6) not to enter their city, because they did not want Lucianus to be discharged from office. The acclamations started with the customary order of praise, first of the gods, then the emperor and the prefects, but they quickly turned into insults, and the people then presented their demand: "For after they began (their acclamations) with the gods and actually castigated them with their words, they were impious towards the beautiful Arcadius (= future emperor) who is growing up for the affairs of the Romans, and they did not leave the pair of prefects alone, the father and teacher, the son and pupil, letting

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[9] Libanius, *Oratio* 1.252–54, "Another governor followed. Under him, it seemed that evil spirits were at war with us. Terrible things occurred: stones were thrown at the portraits of the emperors and rattled loudly against them. Their bronze statues were dragged along the ground, and insults more hurtful than any stone were hurled at the rulers of the Empire." ἕτερος ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ δεινότατα πολέμῳ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων δόξαντα κεκινῆσθαι, λίθοι τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς βασιλέας ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρχόμενοι, καὶ ἦν πολὺς ὁ ψόφος, χαλκαί τε εἰκόνες διὰ γῆς ἑλκόμεναι ῥήματά τε ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν ὅλων κυρίους πικρότερα παντὸς ἀφιέμενα λίθου. After the Riot Libanius wrote five speeches in connection with it: 19 (*To the emperor Theodosius, about the riots*), 20 (*To the emperor Theodosius, after the reconciliation*), 21 (*To Caesarius, Master of the Offices*), 22 (*To Ellebichus*), 23 (*Against the refugees*). See Liebeschuetz (1972), 215, and Norman (1977), 237–243, for more discussion of this riot. Also, Browning (1952), especially 14 and 20.

[10] Of course, the governor of Syria was in a difficult position, because here in his capital the *Comes Orientis* was also stationed, and in situations of need, he would be the higher official who should solve problems.

[11] Libanius, *Oratio* 19.55, "Do not slight the abilities of Celsus, for if you go to excess, then his moderation is ignored; and yet he is a man deserving of honor." μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Κέλσου περιυβρίσῃς. εἰ γὰρ σὺ ζητήσεις τι πλέον, ἐκείνῳ τὸ μέτρον ἠμέληται, καὶ τιμῶν ἀνὴρ ἄξιος.

wolves loose on these Lycians. Then they went on strike, and told him who had obtained the governorship not to enter the city."[12] This time, however, the people did not get their way, and Eustathius took up his new office. Libanius, who strongly disagreed with the masses, tells us about their acclamations in his Speech 56 which he had directed against Lucianus. Though Libanius had initially decided to take the side of Eustathius, this new governor was not able to please Libanius either, and he also wrote a speech against him.[13]

Governors could not always give in to the wishes of the masses, sometimes simply because they were not in the position to meet their demands, or because they might be dependent on more powerful officials for their realization. Sometimes, though, the arrival or presence of a governor accompanied by the customary acclamations gave rise to ideal occasions for provincials to make their wishes or annoyances publicly known. In this way, provincials might 'use' a governor for their purposes even though they knew well that he was not the official who was able to fulfill their wishes. When the people of Edessa in 449 wanted to oust their bishop Ibas, a decision the governor could not take, they made this wish known in acclamations upon the arrival of the governor. They started with a customary religious praise: "God is one."[14] Then they praised different officials in order of importance, and wished them many more years to come and protection from God: Valentinian the emperor, Protogenes the Praetorian Prefect of the East and consul at the same time (*PLRE* II, pp. 927–28), Zeno the *Magister Militum* (*PLRE* II, Zenon 6), Anatolius the Patricius (PLRE II, Anatolius 10), Theodosius the *Comes Orientis* (*PLRE* II, Theodosius 11), and then the governor of Osrhoene,

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[12] Libanius, *Oratio* 56.16, ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τούτους μαστιγώσαντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἠσέβησαν μὲν εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι τὸν καλὸν Ἀρκάδιον, οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐπάρχων συνωρίδος, τοῦ μὲν πατρός τε καὶ διδασκάλου, τοῦ δὲ παιδός τε καὶ μαθητοῦ, λύκους ἐπαφιέντες τοῖς Λυκίοις. ἔτι τοίνυν ἔραυσαν μὲν τὰς τέχνας, ἀπεῖπον δὲ τῷ λαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ προσιέναι τῇ πόλει. The two Prefects were father and son, who both came from Lycia. Seeck (1920, 89) identifies them as Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus (*PLRE* I, Tatianus 5) and his son Proculus (*PLRE* I, Proculus 6). See further Seeck's article for an extensive discussion of this acclamation, and Libanius' speech against Lucianus.

[13] The example of Eustathius is striking, because Libanius wrote two speeches; Speech 44 in praise of him, and Speech 54 against.

[14] See the article of Seeck (1920), esp. 86–8, and Liebeschuetz (1972), 211. As seen by the strict order of those who were acclaimed in honorary acclamations, acclamations with negative sentiments also kept to a strict order. See also chapter four, the section *Acclamations*.

Flavius Thomas Iulianus Chaereas (*PLRE* II, p. 282), upon whose arrival this acclamation was held. After these routine praises the people made their wish known: "Another bishop for the metropolis! No one wants Ibas! No one wants a Nestorian. May the family of the Nestorian burn."[15] Ibas, indeed, was deposed at the so-called 'Robber' Council of Ephesus in 449, although at the Council of Chalcedon of 451 he was re-installed, and remained bishop of Edessa until his death in 457.

Members of the elite looked down upon the lower classes and their crude behavior, their lack of education, and their vulgar impulses. Predictably, someone like Libanius would be horrified by the idea that he had to shout in unison with the masses, as if he was part of them, upon the arrival of a governor or at other large public gatherings. Even worse than the masses, who ultimately did not know any better, was a governor who would actually be hungry for their acclamations as Libanius described in the following way:

> How is it then that some of these duties are so neglected and others performed so enthusiastically? The governors are possessed of a pernicious notion that everything else is cheap and of no account, and that their sum of happiness consists in the cheers and acclamations they receive from the commons and the gratitude evinced towards them in return for the pleasure they provide the masses. So they reject the fair fame to be won from men of sense by the performance of their duty, and they distribute these favors, whereby they think to attach to themselves these idlers, these drones.[16]

To come back to Tisamenus, he obviously spoiled the masses with his desire for this public form of flattery, and even gave them a sense of power: "He inherited from his predecessors a populace that knew its place and he induced it not to know its place, for he taught it how important it was to the governor for them to address some acclamation to him. The populace is convinced that it governs its governor and that, in consequence of its arrogance, it has under its

[15] Seeck (1920), 86–88. See the German translation with the original Syriac text; Flemming (1970), 16–21.

[16] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.22, πόθεν δὴ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἠμέληται, τὰ δὲ ἐν σπουδῇ μεγάλῃ; δόξα τις πονηρὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας κατέσχεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα φαῦλα καὶ οὐδέν, μόνον δὲ ἀγαθὸν αἱ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς μετ' εὐφημιῶν βοαὶ καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι χάριν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἃς πορίζουσι τῷ πλήθει. ἀφέντες οὖν τὸ διὰ τοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ἀργοὺς τουτουσὶ καὶ κηφῆνας ἐπισπᾶσθαι.

thumb the person under whom it has been set by law, and is beginning to upset many of the established institutions."[17]

By the same token, however, we have to be cautious about Libanius' criticism of the masses and their acclamations, because he also understood that the masses were an instrument for himself. In several instances, he profiled himself as their supporter. When he wrote his Speech 45 about the terrible conditions in prisons, he showed his concern for bad treatment of the masses, although—as mentioned in chapter two—he did not have any illusion about the reality of the inequality in the treatment of the rich and the poor:

> This is the normal treatment of the weaker at the hands of the influential, of the penniless at the hands of the wealthy, of the masses at the hands of the elite who expect any charge they make to count for more than proof. This is their experience at the hands of the Senators and *decurions*: this the treatment accorded to the manufacturing class by organizers of loyal addresses to you and by the lackeys of governors to such as do not gratify their every whim.[18]

Part of Libanius' resentment at Tisamenus' behavior can also be explained by jealousy. When the mass of the provincial population could get help from a governor through their acclamations, they would in effect bypass someone like Libanius, to whom provincials customarily turned with requests that he as their patron would bring to a governor's attention. If a governor listened directly to the acclamations, Libanius' role and his position of patron was endangered.

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[17] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.11, παραλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκότα εἰς τὸ μὴ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτὸν προήγαγε διδάξας αὐτὸν ὡς μέγα τι τῷ ἄρχοντι τὸ λεχθῆναί τι παρ' ἐκείνων εἰς αὐτὸν εὔφημον. δῆμος δὲ πεισθεὶς ὡς ἄρχει τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ ὑφ' αὐτῷ πεποίηται, πολλὰ κινῶν τῶν καθεστηκότων ἄρχεται. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula* 819, to Belaeus (*PLRE* I, p. 160), governor of Arabia in 362/3, "It is no surprise that the common folk should behave irrationally and should not do what is right but what is pleasant: but you, who have stepped from the teacher's chair to the judgment chair, can be expected to restrain such as them, and to apply persuasion or actual coercion to them." ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνευ λογισμοῦ φέρεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν καλῶν τὰ ἡδέα· σὲ δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδεύοντος θρόνου πρὸς τὸν ψήφου κύριον ἥκοντα κατέχειν τοὺς τοιούτους εἰκὸς καὶ πείθειν ἢ ἔργῳ κωλύειν.

[18] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.4, πάσχουσι δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπιεικῶς οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι παρὰ τῶν δυνατωτέρων, καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔνι χρήματα παρὰ τῶν εὐπορούντων, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν ὀλίγων οἳ τὰς αἰτίας τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῦσιν ἀποδείξεων. ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ συνεδρίῳ, ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων βουλῶν, ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν τὰς εὐφημίας ὑμῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων κατὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς χειροτεχνίαις, ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν [ἐν] ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπηρετούντων κατὰ τῶν οὐ πάντα αὐτοῖς χαριζομένων. See also chap. two, sect. *C 3 Incorruptibility and impartiality*.

### *Speeches against governors: criticism as mirror image of provincials' hopes*

Not just words of praise echo provincials' expectations; words of criticism and rebuke can also have the same effect. Praise and blame are different sides of the same coin; both express what provincials expected from their governor. Again, the work of Menander Rhetor is instructive. As discussed in the previous chapter, in his instructions for two of his speeches to a governor (the speech of arrival: ὁ ἐπιβατήριος λόγος 378–88, and the speech of praise: ὁ προσφωνητικὸς λόγος 415–18), he recommended the following elements: expression of joy at a governor's arrival or presence; praise of his family, education, deeds and virtues; and a general characterization as being far superior to everybody else.[19] In this section I take a closer look at two prominent and vocal members of the late antique upper class, Libanius and Synesius, who clearly articulated criticism of their governors in these terms. Libanius was a prominent citizen of Antioch with the rank of honorary Praetorian Prefect and important connections at the imperial court in Constantinople, while Synesius as bishop of Cyrene ranked high in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

### *Tisamenus: an 'ideal' governor to criticize*

In the works of Libanius there are remarkable examples of reproaches to governors for their lack of ability to govern. In this case study I focus on the Speeches 45 ('To the emperor, on the prisoners') and 33 ('To the emperor Theodosius, against Tisamenus'), dated to the late 380s and paired together in modern scholarship, because both addressed conditions in the prisons, and demonstrated a negative view of governors. According to Libanius, prisons in Antioch were overcrowded, because governors were too slow in fulfilling their judicial functions as well as in executing those sentenced to death.

Both speeches addressed the emperor, who, as emphasized by Libanius, needed to know what happened everywhere in his empire: "Even if it be asserted that you know nothing of all this, the argument would not be valid, for you are required by your imperial position,

[19] The two other types of speeches for governors being the speech of invitation: Κλητικός (424–30), and the speech in so-called 'talk' form: Λαλιά (388–94).

Sire, to know all."[20] Speech 33 was specifically directed against Tisamenus (*PLRE* I, 916–917), who was governor of Syria in 386. Libanius hoped to get the emperor's support in removing him from office, because of his inability to govern well.[21] Libanius started by expressing frustration instead of the customary joy and excitement over the presence of the governor. He was clearly aware that in a speech for a governor praise was usually expected, and he appears apologetic that this was not going to be the case here, for he was going to take the opposite approach: "Ideally, Sire, everyone sent out to the government of the provinces should be so good that I should be able to say something better about Tisamenus. Indeed, my preference is not so much to speak ill of him as the reverse."[22]

He briefly discussed Tisamenus' family background, explaining that, although he had come from a respectable family, and was on course—though apparently not voluntarily—for a good education, he suddenly decided to head for the less respected life of dancing: "he personally participated in eloquence perforce, just so far as to get a nodding acquaintance, but he quickly bade it and its professors a tender fond farewell, and took himself off to dancing," and then went on to write lyrics for a group of actors.[23] As Menander

[20] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.12, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ' εἰπών τις εὖ λέγειν ἂν δόξειεν ὡς οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδείης. ἀπαιτῇ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ πάντα ἐπίστασθαι. See also 33.1, "It will be comfort enough for me not to have kept silence through fear upon matters of which you should have properly been informed." ἀρκέσει γε εἰς παραμυθίαν ἐμοὶ τὸ μὴ φόβῳ σεσιγῆσθαι τὰ ῥηθέντα ἂν πρὸς σὲ δικαίως.

[21] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.1, "not for you to punish him for what he has done, but to ensure that he may do no more harm by remaining in office." οὐχ ὅπως λάβοις τῶν πεπραγμένων δίκην ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ πλείω κακὰ δράσειεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς μένων. And further, 33.24, where Libanius used a comparison of the emperor as a shepherd who takes care of his flock, "In the case of shepherds, the owners of the flocks dismiss bad ones from their job and entrust the sheep to more honest ones." εἶτα πονηροὺς μὲν ποιμένας ἀπελαύνουσι τῶν ποιμνίων οἱ τούτων κύριοι καὶ παύσαντες ἐκείνους ἑτέροις παρέδωκαν τοῖς λυοιτελεστέροις. Also 33.33, "So will you let this fellow remain a governor, when because of him there is many a moan and groan and tear, and many a cry rising up to heaven?" Τοῦτον οὖν ἐάσεις ἄρχειν, δι' ὃν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀδυρμοί, πολλοὶ δὲ θρῆνοι, πολλὰ δὲ δάκρυα, πολλὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν θεῶν ῥήματα;

[22] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.1, Ἔδει μὲν οὕτως ἅπαντας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνθῶν ἀρχὰς ἐκπεμπομένους, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὥστ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐξεῖναι λέγειν τι περὶ Τισαμενοῦ βέλτιον, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἥδιον ἐστί μοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὐναντίον.

[23] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.3, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ μὲν ὅσον ἅψασθαι μετέσχε λόγων, ἀποκλίνας δὲ ταχέως εἰς ὀρχηστὰς καὶ μακαρίσας αὐτούς τε καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτούς. For the writing of lyrics, 33.3, "His dearest ambition would have been to become

Rhetor advised, in a speech of praise, to mention good family background and good education was important, because it would show that the governor was a respectable and sophisticated person.[24] To state the opposite about the governor, as Libanius did here, set the tone for his negative portrayal and assessment of Tisamenus. His slant made Tisamenus' situation seem even worse, because he did, in fact, come from a respectable family (γένει μέν ἐστι λαμπρός) and had started a good education until, evidently, he decided to head into the wrong direction. The ideal of a respectable and sophisticated governor is tellingly reversed in this image of Tisamenus.

Generally, compliments to a governor's sense of justice would be omnipresent in a speech of praise, since jurisdiction was one of his' most important and time-consuming activities. One would emphasize that a governor had a sense of humanity toward his subjects, was uncorrupt, free from partiality and prejudice in his judicial decisions, and treated rich and poor equally.[25] Libanius demonstrated the opposite in Tisamenus, who allegedly had a total lack of interest in court cases and, when he had to hear them, lacked the resolve to bring them to an end. Tisamenus is represented as a governor who would prefer to be at a public entertainment, "he shunned courts; hankered after invitations to the hippodrome and the theater,"[26] while he should be concerned with justice in court:

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the leader of the band, but he was prevented by many complaints. Still, because of the lyrics he composed and provided for them, he attached himself to the stage and offered them his services, while they provided him with theirs. They needed his lyrics: he needed them for these to be produced." ἥδιστα μὲν ἂν ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο τοῦ χοροῦ, τούτου δὲ πολλοῖς εἰργόμενος αἰτιάμασι, δι᾽ ᾀσματων ἃ ποιῶν παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς χάριν τε διδοὺς καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαμβάνων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ᾀσμάτων ἔδει, τῷ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα εἰς ὄρχησιν ἄγεσθαι.

[24] Menander Rhetor, 379–81, and 415–16.

[25] Menander Rhetor, 379, οὐκοῦν δικάσει μὲν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὑπὲρ τὸν Μίνωα, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν· καὶ τούτου ἄμεινον ἤδη προμαντεύομαι, ὦ Ἕλληνες. "As our judge he will outclass Aeacus, Minos, or Rhadamanthus—nay, men of Hellas, I prophesy he will do better than this . . .'. See also chapter four, the section *Speeches of praise*, for more discussion of praise for just governors. Fair treatment of the poor is a recurring theme in other sources; the jurist Ulpian, for example, stressed it when he explained the duties of the governor (*Digesta* 1.16.7).

[26] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.8, φυγὴ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δικῶν, ἐν εὐχῇ δὲ αἱ κλήσεις ἃς καλεῖ μὲν ἱππόδρομος, καλεῖ δὲ θέατρα. Cf. *Oratio* 45.20, τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν οἱ σωτῆρες ἀξιοῦντες ὀνομάζεσθαι; τρέχουσιν ὀψόμενοι μὲν ταῦτα, ὀψόμενοι δὲ ἐκεῖνα, νῦν μὲν καλούμενοι, νῦν δὲ καὶ οὐ καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν κλήσεων δὲ ἐνίας αὐτοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι. "So what do our governors do—these aspirants to the title of "saviors"? They hurry to see first this show, then that, sometimes by invitation, sometimes not, sometimes actually self-invited, for obviously they are self-invited when they personally ensure that the future hosts flock to their doors."

> this fellow is the greatest stumbling block to the administration of justice. Either he turns his back on it and seeks refuge in other business, or if he is compelled to hold court, he wastes his time on drivel, not daring to handle the actual case, but skirting all round it, incapable of seeing where justice lies and refusing to keep his mouth shut. He burbles in a pointless flood of words so as to distress the ears and weary the feet of the lawyers. And instead of seeking a conclusion and bringing the case to an end by reaching a decision, he sends them off so that they need another audience, which in its turn will be treated in the same way and reach no conclusion.[27]

Again, praise and criticism are opposite sides of the same coin; the reverse rhetoric from Libanius' speech showed the same expectation about a governor's conduct in fulfilling his judicial responsibilities: provincials were hoping for a governor who was fair and competent in court, a governor who was, as Menander stated it, "above gain and above pleasure."[28] The importance of taking the duty of jurisdiction seriously was even stressed by the emperors in a law from 364: "Moreover, it shall not be proper for a judge to be so devoted to the courting of popular favor and the production of spectacles, that he bestows more attention upon amusements than upon serious legal matters."[29]

Tisamenus' lack of ability was not confined to judicial irresponsibility. With regard to tax collection, the second main duty of the governor, Libanius accused him of asking for the taxes too early and of consciously trying to hurt the provincials. He even publicly calls him a laughable fool: ὦ καταγέλαστε.[30]

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[27] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.9, μεγίστη ταῖς δίκαις ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσὶ βλάβη. ἢ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα ἄττα καταφεύγει ταύτας ἀφεὶς ἢ δικάσαι καταναγκασθεὶς ἐν τῷ φλυαρεῖν ἀνάλωσε τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῦ μὲν οὐ τολμῶν ἅψασθαι τοῦ πράγματος, κύκλῳ δὲ περιερχόμενος καὶ οὔτε οὗ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ἔχων οὔτε σιωπᾶν αἱρούμενος ἄλλα ῥέων ἀχρήστῳ ῥεύματι οἵῳ τά τε ὦτα ἀνιᾶσαι καὶ κόψαι τοῖς συνδίκοις τοὺς πόδας. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τέλος ζητεῖν καὶ γνώσει στῆσαι τὴν δίκην ἀποπέμπει πάλιν εἰσόδου δεησομένους ταὐτὸ καὶ αὐτῆς πεισομένης οὐ τευξομένης τέλους.

[28] Menander Rhetor, 380, ἔσται κρείττων κέρδους, κρείττων ἡδονῶν.

[29] *Codex Theodosianus* 1.16.9, *absit autem, ut iudex popularitati et spectaculorum editionibus mancipatus plus ludicris curae tribuat quam seriis actibus.*

[30] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.19, "It is the fourth month of the year now—the third part of the calendar year—but he (= Tisamenus) states that it is an insult to the emperor if all the contributions are not in. How do you work this out, you laughable fool? [. . .] It is not out of concern for the taxpayer's interest, but out of a desire to ruin us that requires such haste as this." μὴν μὲν γὰρ οὑτοσὶ τῷ ἔτει τέταρτος, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μέρος, ἠδικῆσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα φησὶν οὐ τοῦ παντὸς εἰσενηνεγμένου. πῶς, ὦ καταγέλαστε; [. . .] οὐ δὴ κέρδος ἐκείνῳ, ζημίαν δὲ ἡμῖν προξενῶν τὸ ταχὺ τοῦτο ζητεῖ.

As for the virtues, Libanius focused on justice, though courage and temperance are visible as well, if only briefly and connected to justice. As already discussed above, Libanius blamed Tisamenus for being a coward, distracted by public entertainment and not having the courage to take action and actually bring a court case to an end. As for temperance, Libanius accused Tisamenus of losing his temper when things were not going as he wished in the preparations for his daughter's wedding: "this scoundrel flared up in rage and with irrational obstinacy."[31]

As a member of the curial class of Antioch, Libanius did not necessarily represent the view of the whole provincial population. Nevertheless, he still revealed some of their expectations in the ways he expressed his anger and frustration at the governor's misbehavior. We could call this a mirror image of what the governor should be, a mirror image of provincials' expectations, and of what Menander recommended. Every negative comment, when turned into the positive, is a reflection of provincials' hopes. Menander too acknowledged this possible function of negativity, when he stated that in a speech of welcome it was permissible to give a vivid portrayal of bad treatment by the former governor, for this will be an encouragement to the new governor to act differently.[32] By the same token, many of the praises recommended by Menander are designed to direct and inspire the governor to rule well.

Most likely, Tisamenus was never removed from office after Libanius' plea. In his *Autobiography* Libanius mentioned both Tisamenus' term and his departure in a neutral way.[33] Hence, I would infer that

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[31] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.15, ἀνάπτεται μὲν τουτὶ τὸ κάθαρμα, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων παθών. In 33.29 Libanius acknowledged that Tisamenus was not their first governor who had his daughter marry during his term of office, but never were those other governors distracted and failed to fulfill their official duties, like Tisamenes who ended up spending all his time involved in the bride's dress, the ceremony and the cooking.

[32] Menander Rhetor, 378, "you should give a vivid portrayal of the situation in which they were badly treated by the previous governor, and amplify their hardships not, however, speaking ill of the predecessor, but simply reporting the subjects' misfortune. Then go on: 'When night and darkness covered the world, you were seen like the sun, and at once dissolved all the difficulties'." ἢ γὰρ κακῶς πεπονθότων αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἄρχοντος διατυπώσεις καὶ αὐξήσεις τὰ δυσχερῆ, μηδὲν βλασφημῶν τὸν παυσάμενον, ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς τὴν δυστηχίαν τῶν ὑπηκόων λέγων, εἶτα ἐπάξεις ὅτι ὥσπερ νυκτὸς καὶ ζόφου τὰ πάντα κατειληφότος αὐτὸς καθάπερ ἥλιος ὀφθεὶς πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ δυσχερῆ διέλυσας.

[33] Libanius, *Oratio* 1.252, "Another governor followed." ἕτερος ἄρχων.

Libanius did not secure Tisamenus' departure from office.[34] While there is not much evidence of open rebukes to a governor, equally the speech against Tisamenes is not an isolated case. There are others by Libanius himself, and the next case study shows a different, though in many ways also similar, example of such criticism.[35]

### *Synesius versus Andronicus*

As already mentioned, the growing influence of bishops in provincial communities caused a shift in the relationship between provincials and governors.[36] Inevitably, governors and bishops clashed. In the early fifth century there is a notable example in the work of Synesius, bishop of Cyrene (*PLRE* II, Synesius 1), who wrote several letters against the new governor of Libya Superior, Andronicus of Berenice (*PLRE* II, Andronicus 1), the justification for the attack being that his appointment as governor was illegal.[37] No man was allowed to govern the province of his birth, and Andronicus came originally from Libya:

[34] Carrié (1998), 26, argues that Libanius' speeches 33 and 45 were school exercises, in which case it is not an issue if Tisamenus was removed or not as a result of Libanius' speeches. Given the fact that Tisamenus was a real governor and also appears in Libanius' autobiography, I prefer to see the speeches as written for the public in a real attempt to inform higher officials about the governor's negligence and provincials' discontent. See also the section *"A culture of criticism"* of this chapter on why Libanius could produce these accusatory speeches without being punished for open criticism.

[35] Cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 57, against Severus; *Oratio* 1, 26, 27, 28 and 29, all containing negative statements against Icarius; *Oratio* 44 and 54, Libanius attacking Eustathius for not treating Libanius with sufficient respect. Also, *Oratio* 56, against Lucianus.

[36] See Liebeschuetz (2001), 152. The emperor Justinian made it part of the bishop's duty to supervise the governor. Upon entering the province, a new governor had to take an oath in presence of the metropolitan bishop and leading citizens (*Novella* 8.14). Furthermore, Justinian invited the bishop and leading citizens to bring complaints about the governor to the attention of the emperor. If a citizen could not get justice from the governor, he was to take his matter to the bishop who would take every step to see that justice was done, with the last resort of informing the emperor.

[37] Synesius, *Epistula* 41 (57), 42 (58), 72, 73, 79 and 90. Numbering is that of Garzya (1979), with the numbering of Hercher's edition (1873) in brackets.

> The Phoenicians may not rule Phoenicia, nor the Coelesyrians Coelesyria: an Egyptian can be a prefect everywhere except in Egypt. How then does it happen that the Libyans alone may administer their own country? Are the Libyans the only brave men, do they alone know how to defy the laws, these laws against which evil natures throw themselves all the more, in proportion as the penalties assigned are more numerous and terrifying? [. . .] Is it not you yourself who have caused a new law to be dispatched to supplant the old one, a law which threatens with many severe penalties to those who should lay claim to govern their native country?[38]

From the letters, however, it becomes clear that the two men had a history of discord, and that Andronicus did not meet Synesius' expectations as governor.

Synesius' letters 41 and 42 are a pair, and can be regarded as one complete speech instead of two separate letters, with letter 42 being the epilogue.[39] Both letters are addressing the bishops of the council of the diocese of Pentapolis; 41, "to the bishops, against Andronicus" (κατὰ 'Ανδρονίκου τοῖς ἐπισκόποις), and 42 "to the bishops" (πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους). Because Synesius wanted to have Andronicus excommunicated, his choice of audience made sense.

While Libanius was pagan, and religion did not play any role in his speech against Tisamenes, Synesius' speech, as expected of a bishop, is full of references to the Christian faith: "what destruction, then, shall await Andronicus, the pest of the district? What retribution could be worthy of a soul that works evil only? In my own case, Andronicus is a far heavier ill than all the blows with which God has visited us for my sins, for in addition to your common

[38] Synesius, *Epistula* 73, p. 131 τί γὰρ δὴ Φοινίκων μὲν οὐκ ἄρχουσι Φοίνικες οὐδὲ Κοιλοσύρων Κοιλόσυροι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ πάσης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, Λίβυες δὲ μόνοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν; ἢ μόνοι Λίβυές εἰσιν ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς νόμοις ἐγνώκεισαν; ὧν ὅτε πλείω καὶ φοβερώτερα τοῖς παραβαίνουσι γέγονε τἀπιτίμια, τότε μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς αἱ πονηραὶ φύσεις ἐνεκυβίστησαν. [. . .] οὐ σὺ καταπεμφθῆναι τὸν νόμον γέγονας αἴτιος ἐπὶ τοῖς πάλαι τὸν πρόσφατον, ὃς ἀνατείνεται πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ τοῖς μνηστεύουσι τὴν τῆς ἐνεγκούσης ἄρχην; See *Codex Justinianus* 1.41. By 610 this law was ignored and governors were often natives of the area they governed. See Liebeschuetz (2001), 279.

[39] Both letters together look like a speech, with letter 42 as the clear continuation of letter 41, p. 70 which ends as following: "Now in what terms the council has attacked Andronicus' madness, listen." νυνὶ δὲ οἷς τὸ συνέδριον μετῆλθε τὴν 'Ανδρονίκου μανίαν, ἀκούσατε. Then letter 42 starts with the description of Andronicus. The letters give me the impression that Synesius gave them as a speech for a council of bishops, which seems appropriate, because a council of bishops would have to power to fulfill Synesius' request, the excommunication of Andronicus.

sufferings, this man is my own personal evil. Through him the tempter is at work to get me to desert the service of the altar."[40]

Whereas Libanius was perhaps not as emotionally involved with Tisamenes' presence and misbehavior, Synesius appeared to be in a personal battle with Andronicus. Not only for provincials' sake but also for his own interest did he want to have Andronicus excommunicated. When Synesius was called to the priesthood, he had been hesitant about taking on the office because he felt insufficiently courageous.[41] Punishment for this earlier reluctance now came in the shape of the evil personality of Andronicus: "no sooner was I here than all horrors were here, and the chorus leader of them all was Andronicus, a demon of war, gorged with disasters, gloating over the ruins of the city. Alas, everywhere in the market place the groaning of men, the wailing of women, the lamentations of children! He invested the city with the semblance of one taken by storm."[42]

To his great disappointment, Synesius was not able to change Andronicus' behavior, thus failing the provincials who counted on his protection: "once everyone rushed to me; from all sides I was pressed to hear and see atrocities. When I admonished Andronicus, I failed to convince him, when I upbraided him, I only irritated him."[43] Andronicus' unwillingness must have disappointed Synesius

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[40] Synesius, *Epistula* 41, p. 56, τίς δὲ ἄρα, τίς ὄλεθρος, περιμενεῖ τὸν παλαμναῖον τῆς χώρας Ἀνδρόνικον; τίς ἀξία γένοιτ' ἂν δίχη ψυχῆς κακεργάτιδος; ὡς ἐμοὶ τῶν πληγῶν ἁπασῶν, αἷς μετῆλθεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, Ἀδνρόνικός ἐστι μακρῷ πάντων βαρύτερος· πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς οὗτος ἐμόν ἐστι κακὸν ἴδιον. διὰ τούτου μέτεισιν ὁ πειράζων, ἵνα δραπετεύσω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὴν λειτουργίαν.

[41] Synesius, *Epistula* 41, p. 58, "prostrate and on my knees, I have in suppliant guise prayed for death rather than the priesthood." πρηνὴς καὶ γονυπετὴς ἱκέτης γενόμενος θάνατον ἀνθ' ἱερωσύνης ᾑρούμην.

[42] Synesius, *Epistula* 41, pp. 59–60. ἀλλ' ἅμα τε παρῆν ἐνθάδε καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα παρῆν, καὶ χορηγὸς πάντων Ἀνδρόνικος, δαίμων ἀρήιος, ἄπληστος συμφορῶν, τῆς πόλεως τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐγκείμενος. ἔα, πανταχοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγαὶ γυναικῶν ὀλολυγαὶ παίδων ὀλοφυρμοί. σχῆμα πόλεως ἑαλωκυίας αὐτῇ περιτέθεικεν. Cf. *Epistula* 41, pp. 53–54, where Synesius alludes to this same theme of punishment: "And thus, whenever God is in need of avengers, he employs, at one moment demons who lead hordes of locusts, at another those whose works are pestilences, or perchance a barbarous nation, or again a wicked ruler, and, in a word, the natures fitted to commit public harm. Nevertheless, He hates those very natures, because they are suitable for this purpose." ὅταν οὖν δέηται κολαστῶν, χρῆται νῦν μὲν ἀγελάρχαις ἀκρίδων δαίμοσι νῦν δὲ ὧν ἔργα λοιμοί, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἔθνει βαρβάρων νῦν δὲ ἄρχοντι πονηρῷ· καὶ κατάπαξ εἰπεῖν, ταῖς ἐπιτηδείοις εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κακὰ δημόσια φύσεσι. μισεῖ δ' ὅμως αὐτάς, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο γεγόνασιν ἐπιτήδειοι.

[43] Synesius, *Epistula* 41, p. 60, δρόμος ἁπάντων εὐθὺς ἐπ' ἐμέ, καὶ πανταχόθεν εὐθὺς ἐβαλλόμην ἀκοῇ καὶ θέᾳ κακῶν. νουθετήσας οὐκ ἔπεισα, ἐπιτιμήσας ἠρέθισα.

greatly for another reason as well, because he knew Andronicus from before his governorship, when he had saved him from prison twice in Alexandria.[44] Perhaps the bishop had thought to be able to control him, since the new governor 'owed' him good behavior.[45]

Notably, in a way similar to Libanius' presentation of Tisamenes, Synesius offered a negative portrayal of Andronicus with regard to his family background, education and sense of justice. In respect to education and family, as a man of great learning himself, Synesius despised Andronicus' lack of knowledge and his ordinary background, especially compared to his own excellent family history: "For remember who he was, as compared to me. Indeed, if nothing else, I am descended from those men in whose lineage, beginning with that Eurysthenes who settled the Dorians in Sparta, and going down to my own father, has been engraved on the public monuments, whereas this fellow cannot tell the name of his own grandfather, nor even of his father, except by guess, and from a tuna fisher's perch on a crag he has come at a bound into the governor's chariot," and further in the letter, "such is the nature that has remained without education, once it has acquired power."[46]

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The provincials do not seem to understand that Synesius might not be able to help them, which is a source of frustration for him: Synesius, *Epistula* 41, p. 60: "for I do not succeed in persuading them that I have not the power they ascribe to me; rather do they insist on my potency to gain all just ends. All that remains to me, therefore, is grief and shame." οὐδὲ γὰρ πείθω αὐτοὺς λέγων ὡς οὐ δύναμαι, ἀλλ' ἀξιοῦμαι πάντα τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι. περίεστιν οὖν αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι.

[44] Synesius, *Epistula* 79, p. 143 "When I was away [= from Libya Superior], Andronicus courted my power, for that I twice saved him at Alexandria from prison." Ἀνδρόνικος ἀπόντων μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐθεράπευσε, δι' ἣν οὐ γέγονε δὶς ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀγώγιμος.

[45] Synesius must have been worried, though, as soon as he heard of Andronicus' appointment as governor, and he had not yet arrived in his province, because the bishop tried to stop the appointment in an earlier letter to Troilus (*PLRE* II, Troilus 1); *Epistula* 73, p. 132 "A governor is at sea, on his way here, one who formerly took a line of policy directed against the city, and is now fighting for his divergent political views from the tribunal." καταπλεῖ δεσπότης ὁ πρώην ἀντιπολιτευόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐν πολιτείᾳ διαφορὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνίζεται.

[46] Synesius, *Epistula* 41, pp. 63–64, ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τίς ἦν πρώην (πρὸς ἐμὲ τόν, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξ ἐκείνων γενόμενον, ὧν ἀπ' Εὐρυσθένους τοῦ καταγαγόντος Δωριέας εἰς Σπάρτην μέχρι τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς αἱ διαδοχαὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις ἐνεκολάφθησαν κύρβεσιν) ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὄνομα πάππου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πατρός, φασί, πλὴν ὅσον εἰκάσαι, ἀπὸ θυννοσκοπείου δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἀπήνην ἁλάμενος and p. 64, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι φύσις ἀπαίδευτος ἐπειλημμένη δυνάμεως.

As far as virtues were concerned, the virtue of justice, or Andronicus' total lack of it, played a central role in the attack.[47] He is cruel, corrupt and a bad judge—all illustrated by the bishop with several examples of terrible judgments.[48] When he fought with Andronicus over a citizen who, according to Synesius, was innocent, Andronicus wanted to give him the death penalty. Apparently, Synesius could barely save this man's life through his intervention, and the man ended up in jail. Even there, Andronicus tried to punish him more severely.[49] On another occasion, when Andronicus tortured a man, uncalled for according to Synesius, he was furious once he realized that the church felt sympathy for this unfortunate man: "he flies into a rage that a bishop has dared to pity a man hated by himself."[50]

On top of all his bad conduct, Andronicus was also not an accessible governor, which, as demonstrated in chapter two, was an important feature of a 'good' governor.[51]

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[47] The other virtues, courage, wisdom and temperance, are discussed, but more in the other letters. Courage, for instance, in *Epistula* 79, p. 141: "Andronicus dares not even do this, for a fool is never courageous. He shows himself in turn cowardly or rash, but he is ever contemptible." Ἀνδρόνικος δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἀλόγιστον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς δειλόν τε καὶ θρασὺ γίνεται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἁπανταχοῦ πονηρόν.

[48] Cf. Synesius, *Epistula* 79, p. 139, "He has invented thumb screws and instruments of torture for the feet, and other strange machinery for inflicting punishments, which he employs, not against any guilty people, for everyone is now free to do evil, but rather against those who pay property-tax, or who owe money in any shape or form." δακτυλήθρας καὶ ποδοστράβας ἐξευρὼν καὶ ξένα ἄττα κολαστήρια, κατ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀδικούντων (πάνυ γὰρ τὸ νῦν ἔξεστιν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀδικεῖν) κατὰ δὲ τῶν συντελούντων ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁτιοῦν ὀφειλόντων. Corruption: *Epistula* 79, p. 139, "he is also exacting a sum for the needs of the court. Ever he finds some new evil to add to an old one, whereby torture may be inflicted on whole tribes and peoples. You may be as rich as you please and have plenty of money to pay with: nevertheless you will not escape the lash." καὶ συνῆψε τὰ αὐλαναῖα· καὶ ἀεί τι καινὸν ἐπὶ παλαιῷ κακόν, ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ φῦλα καὶ δήμους αἰκίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ πλουτοῦσιν ἀμαστιγώτους ἀναχωρῆσαι.

[49] Synesius, *Epistula* 41, p. 62.

[50] Synesius, *Epistula* 42, p. 73, λυττᾷ [. . .], εἴ τις ἐπισκοπος ὢν ἐλεῆσαι τετόλμηκεν ἄνθρωπον ἀπηχθημένον αὐτῷ.

[51] Synesius, *Epistula*. 41, p. 63, "Nor, some say, do they permit any one to enter there. For his servants are by nature such as they are, but now they are living after the pattern of Andronicus, who governs to the dishonor of the Church." παρίησι δὲ -φασί τινες- οὐδεὶς οὐδένα· οἱ γὰρ ὑπηρέται φύσει μὲν εἰσιν οἵτινες εἰσι, νῦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς παράδειγμαν ζῶσιν Ἀνδρόνικον, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀτιμοῦν προκαθέζεται. See chapter two, the section *Provincials' expectations of the governor as judge*.

In the epilogue, Synesius summed up why he thought Andronicus was such an evil to the province and why he should be condemned:

> the reason for this is, not that he has been the deadliest plague of Pentapolis, after an earthquake, an invasion of locusts, a pestilence, a conflagration, a war; not that he methodically sought out the remaining victims of these disasters and introduced horrible kinds and fashions of punishment for the first time into the country (and would that I could say that he alone has made use of them). Not because of his instruments of torture to which I allude, that crush the fingers and feet, compress limbs, tweak the nose, and deform the ears and lips, of which things those who had forestalled the experience and the sight by perishing in the war, were adjudged happy by such as had by ill fate survived. The reason for his condemnation is, that first amongst us, and alone of your number, he blasphemed Christ both in word and deed.[52]

Andronicus, indeed, was excommunicated, though at first Synesius was persuaded not to send the letter with the request for excommunication in order to give Andronicus another chance, because he wanted to repent. The ultimate result, however, was a further deterioration of Andronicus' behavior in that he turned to confiscation of property and murder; according to Synesius nothing was then left but to excommunicate.[53] Surprisingly, at least after such a passionate plea for excommunication, Synesius somehow regretted the final outcome, though perhaps here we gain a glimpse of the real power struggle between the influential members of the church and the representatives of the Roman government. Synesius not so much regretted the excommunication of Andronicus, but apparently, higher Roman authorities had expressed their annoyance about it, as Synesius

[52] Synesius, *Epistula* 42, pp. 70–71, οὐ διότι γέγονε Πενταπόλεως ἐσχάτη πληγή, μετὰ σεισμὸν μετὰ ἀκρίδα μετὰ λιμὸν μετὰ πῦρ μετὰ πόλεμον ἐπεξελθὼν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκαταλείμμασιν, ἄτοπα κολαστηρίων καὶ γένη καὶ σχήματα πρῶτος εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσενεγκών, εἴη δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ μόνος κρησάμενος, δακτυλήθραν καὶ ποδοστράβην καὶ πιεστήριον καὶ ῥινολαβίδα καὶ ὠτάγραν καὶ χειλοστρόφιον, ὧν οἱ προλαβόντες τὴν πεῖράν τε καὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προαπολόμενοι παρὰ τῶν κακῶς περισωθέντων ἐμακαρίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πρῶτος παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ μόνος ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐβλασφήμησεν. Cf. *Epistula* 79, p. 139 to Anastasius (*PLRE* II, Anastasius 2), "It is of no consequence that he holds me in small esteem, but, what is more grave, he appears to me to be ashamed to reverence those things that are divine." ὃς εἰ μὲν ἐμοῦ καταφρονεῖ, πρᾶγμα οὐδέν· ἀλλ' αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τὰ θεῖα τιμῆσαι.

[53] Roos (1991), 106–07.

wrote to the patriarch of Alexandria in Ptolemais: "we have incurred the displeasure of those now in power."[54]

Though Libanius' and Synesius' attacks differed significantly in their details, there are many striking similarities. As men from leading families, to whom provincials turned for protection and assistance, their power and influence could be far reaching. Both had enjoyed an excellent education, which they used to attack their opponents. Through their knowledge they spoke the language of the elite, and were able to evoke images of praise and blame that would be remembered and understood by fellow members of the upper classes. Images of praise, in particular, would have been sought after by many of them. Ultimately, it came down to knowing one's place in Late Roman society. If a man overstepped the well-known boundaries, other members of the elite were ready and willing to point out the error. As Harries concluded, "whether Andronicus was in fact as corrupt as he was painted is of less importance than Synesius' demonstration of the power of the influential provincials over a governor's career and reputation."[55]

## *"A culture of criticism"*

In the Later Roman Empire the obvious forum to express provincial grievances and ask for requests was the provincial council. It

[54] Synesius, *Epistula* 90, pp. 152–53, to Theophilus, "In the past Andronicus did injustice, but now he in turn is treated with injustice. Nevertheless, it is the character of the Church to exalt the humble and to humble the proud. The Church detested this man Andronicus on account of his actions, wherefore she pressed for this result, but now she pities him insofar as his experiences have exceeded the measure of her malediction. On this account we have incurred the displeasure of those now in power. [. . .] So we have snatched him from the fell tribunal here, and have in other respects greatly mitigated his sufferings. If your sacred person judges that this man is worthy of any interest, I shall welcome this as a signal proof that God has not yet entirely abandoned him." Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ πρότερον ἠδίκει καὶ νῦν ἀδικεῖται. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἦθος οἷον ὑψῶσαι μὲν ταπεινὸν ταπεινῶσαι δὲ ὑψηλόν. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐμίσει μὲν ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἐποίει (διὸ καὶ προήκατο μέχρι τούτων ἐλθεῖν), ἐλεεῖ δὲ νῦν ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἤδη τοῖς ὑπὲρ κατάραν ὡμίλησεν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς νῦν ἐν δυνάμει δι᾿ αὐτὸν ἐλυπήσαμεν. [. . .] ἡμεῖς τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα στυγνοῦ βήματος αὐτὸν ἐξειλόμεθα καὶ τἆλλα ἐλάττους αὐτῷ παρὰ πολὺ τὰς συμφορὰς ἐποιήσαμεν. κἂν ἡ σὴ θεοσέβεια φροντίδος αὐτὸν ἀξιώσῃ, τοῦτο μέγιστον ἐγὼ τεκμήριον δέξομαι τοῦ μὴ παντάπασι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπογνωσθῆναι παρὰ θεοῦ.

[55] Harries (1999), 171.

continued to function as a representative body, discussed matters of provincial interest, and sent delegations to the Vicar or Praetorian Prefect, who could in turn refer them to the emperor.[56] The situation of Libanius is rather exceptional, in that he claims a more direct link to the emperor; both speeches (45 and 33) addressed him, and he states that the emperor would expect him to criticize the governor. In Speech 45 he says: "You (the emperor) will ask, "How can it be that you (Libanius) have neglected this, when you should reprove the governors and tell *them* what you are telling *me* now, and not allow them to be slack, even if they want to be?"[57]

Any individual, even though he spoke on behalf of a community or a province, took a risk by exposing himself to the anger and possibly revenge of a governor, or the governor's supporters. Libanius himself showed his awareness of this risk when he stated at the beginning of his speech 33: "now the person, whose many words and actions have secured him as our governor, will be annoyed at my remarks and will seek to do harm to the one who has provoked him, for his influence is all that he could wish it to be".[58] On the other hand, if governors lacked influential protectors, they were vulnerable to attacks from prominent provincials.[59]

Why, then, would Libanius or Synesius dare to speak negatively about a governor in public? For provincials to be incensed about a governor's behavior was hardly a novelty of the Later Roman Empire.

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[56] The following law from 382 illustrates that the provincial council was still regarded as an accepted institution for dealing with provincials' business: *Codex Theodosianus* 12.12.9, "If an entire diocese should consult in common, or if separate provinces should wish to meet with each other, by the power of no judge shall any discussion be deferred if it is suitable to their advantage." *ad provinciales: Sive integra dioecesis in commune consulerit sive singulae inter se voluerint provinciae convenire, nullius iudicis potestate tractatus utilitati earum congruus differatur.* Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 28.6.7 for a reference to the annual meeting of the provincial council in Tripolis. Cf. *I. Cret.* IV 313ff. Also Deininger (1965), especially chapter two on the koina of the Greek East, 36–98.

[57] Libanius, *Oratio* 45.16, καὶ πῶς σὺ περιεώρας, ἐρήσῃ, δέον ἐπιτιμᾶν τε τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ταῦτα ἃ νυνὶ λέγεις λέγειν μηδὲ βουλομένοις ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν. Cf. the reverse rhetoric in Menander Rhetor, 417–18.

[58] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.2. ὁ μὲν οὖν, ἵν᾽ οὗτος ἄρξειεν ἡμῶν, πολλὰ μὲν εἰπών, πολλὰ δὲ ποιήσας χαλεπός τε ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔσται καὶ ζητήσει τὸν λελυπηκότα ποιῆσαι κακῶς οὔσης αὐτῷ δυνάμως ὁπόσης ἐθέλει. The identity of this 'person' is unclear. Pack (1935), 96, has suggested that he is possibly Cynegius (*PLRE* I, 235–36), Praetorian Prefect of the Orient in the period 384–88, but Norman (1977), 194, remains skeptical. See also Liebeschuetz (1972), 113–14.

[59] Harries (1999), 170.

Under the Republic and the Principate provincials could, and did, accuse a governor of misconduct after his term of office in the *repetundae* courts or the senate. It seems, though, that even the latter court stopped functioning in the early third century, when we find the last known *repetundae* case under Septimius Severus.[60] The Roman world was changing, and provincials needed to find other ways to express their frustration.

Several features of the Late Roman world acted to make it less 'perilous' to rebuke the governor openly during his term of office. First, by breaking up the larger provinces, the novel system of dioceses and prefectures, and the creation of separate military commanders (*duces*), Diocletian diminished the status of provincial governors. Consequently, a governor was no longer the highest Roman authority in a province, but other Roman officials—with more power than the governor, and able to interfere with his business—became a permanent presence throughout the provinces.[61] This inevitably caused a shift in the relationship between governors and provincials. He was less powerful, and provincials might feel less hesitant to criticize him, now that they could take their case to the Vicar, or even to the Praetorian Prefect.

Further adjustments, too, were required of governors themselves from Diocletian's time onwards. Before, they were sent to govern provincials who mostly were of lower status than themselves. This had changed. The provincial elite was more and more the elite of the Empire, and often had valuable connections in Rome or Constantinople.[62] In addition, as officials came from the higher classes, many members of this empire wide elite had most likely been officials themselves, and were therefore most probably well connected when they were facing governors in their provincial communities, as Brown emphasized:

> the process by which the imperial government had come to permeate the upper echelons of the civic notables, by recruiting them to serve outside their cities, ensured that networks of patronage and friendship linked each locality to powerful figures at the court itself.[63]

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[60] See Talbert (1984), appendix 9, 510.

[61] Contrast the situation in the Principate when "he (the governor) has in the province authority greater than everyone else after the emperor." *Digesta* 1.16.8 (Ulpian), *et ideo maius in ea provincia habet omnibus post principem.*

[62] Brown (1992), 24. See Van Dam (2002), 82, for a similar argument.

[63] Brown (1992), 24.

Typically now, the governor came from the same class as the elite of the people he was governing, or even from a lesser one. As always, if the masses became upset with the governor, they might not be able to pursue their aggravation; but if wealthy upper class provincials with good connections were frustrated, they were better placed than ever to use their influence against the governor. In addition, to a provincial like Libanius—who belonged to the elite of the province with the honorary rank of Praetorian Prefect, and had established himself as a famous orator and patron of his city—an individual governor was of only temporary importance. Why fear him unduly? For a governor, the unpredictability of the length of his term in office did not help either.

From the perspective of Roman law, Harries has argued that the courage of open provincial criticism is connected with a changing view of the imperial government toward the accountability of officials. If the emperor wanted to be supported by the *consensus universorum*, he had to make sure his officials as representatives of his power conducted themselves in the appropriate manner. Provincials as the third party in this triangle of power relations needed to be able to turn to him if his officials behaved badly. Ultimately, the emperor could be held accountable for their behavior. Harries called the approach of open disapproval of governors part of a "culture of criticism:"

> Those who are accountable are also subject to criticism from those to whom they answer. Imperial tirades against officials therefore should be analyzed as a part of a wider phenomenon, which might be termed a 'culture of criticism,' which also found expression in the speeches of orators, the strictures of historians like Ammianus and the representations of bishops and others who criticized the misconduct of officials. What was new was the willingness of those with access to the late antique media of communication to complain about such behavior, and to encourage others to do so. Far from being corralled into habits of subservient acclamation, citizens were encouraged to hold their government to account.[64]

The chapters on praise and commemoration and this chapter on criticism have demonstrated that provincial praise and blame were not only different sides of the same coin, but also that the two concepts gave provincials a means to communicate their needs to governors and Roman government at large. Governors and provincials

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[64] Harries (1999), 97.

were part of the same system, in which there was inevitably tension. In the end, however, each needed the other. If a governor demonstrated that he was serving the interests of provincials, they were willing to comply with him, and vice versa. If he fulfilled his duties according to their expectations, they praised him. If not, Libanius illustrates for us the possible reaction. The sharp closing words of his Speech 33 to the emperor sum up the provincials' ideal:

> So free your cities of such ills and send us a man of sense, who is eager to work hard, a doer rather than a talker, and one who will use persuasion rather than compulsion, a helper of the poor rather than their oppressor, who will distinguish what is and what is not possible, and recognize a time for flogging and a time for threatening—in short, a man who is nothing at all like this plague here.[65]

[65] Libanius, *Oratio* 33.43, Ἀπάλλαξον δὴ τὰς σαυτοῦ πόλεις τοιούτων κακῶν καὶ πέμψον ἄνδρα νοῦν τε ἔχοντα καὶ πόνων ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ πλείω πράξοντα ἢ λαλήσοντα καὶ πείσοντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγκάσοντα καὶ βοηθήσοντα πένησιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρίψοντα, καὶ διαγνωσόμενον, τί μὲν δυνατόν, τί δὲ οὔ, καὶ καιρὸν μὲν πληγῶν, καιρὸν δὲ εἰσόμενον ἀπειλῆς, ὅλως οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τῷ λοιμῷ τούτῳ.

CONCLUSION

# THE GOVERNOR "BRILLIANT AS A RAY OF THE SUN"?

> We have come to meet you, all of us, in whole families, children, old men, adults, priestly clans, associations of public men, the common people, greeting you with joy, all welcoming you with cries of praise, calling you our savior and fortress, our bright star: the children call you their foster-father and their fathers' savior. If the cities could speak and take the form of women, as in a play, they would have said: "O greatest of governors, O sweetest day, the day of your coming! Now the sun shines brighter, now we seem to behold a happy day dawn out of darkness. Soon we shall put up statues. Soon poets and writers and orators will sing your virtues and spread their fame throughout mankind. Let theaters be opened, let us hold festivals, let us avow our gratitude to the emperors and to the gods.[1]

This advice by Menander Rhetor for the epilogue of a welcome speech for governors was not only a synopsis of what an orator had attempted to say with his whole speech, but also encapsulated in a summary provincials' hopes and expectations at the beginning of a governor's term of office. They wanted a governor who looked after all members of the community, who saved and protected them from any form of evil and oppression. In short, they wanted a governor to whom they could turn as they would turn to their fathers in times of need. If a governor was able to demonstrate his goodwill and efforts, a province at large would call him their savior and fortress, their bright star, and would erect statues, sing of his admirable deeds in poems, and celebrate festivals in his honor. The emphasis on the

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[1] Menander Rhetor, 381, προαπηντήκαμεν δὲ σοι ἅπαντες ὁλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι, παῖδες, πρεσβῦται, ἄνδρες, ἱερέων γένη, πολιτευομένων συστήματα, δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι, πάντες φιλοφρονούμενοι ταῖς εὐφημίαις, σωτῆρα καὶ τεῖχος, ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ δὲ παῖδες τροφέα μὲν ἑαυτῶν, σωτῆρα δὲ τῶν πατέρων· εἰ δὲ δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀφεῖναι φωνὴν καὶ σχήματα λαβεῖν γυναικῶν ὥσπερ ἐν δράμασι, εἶπον ἄν· ὦ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς, ἡδίστης δὲ ἡμέρας, καθ' ἣν ἐπέστης· νῦν ἡλίου φῶς φαιδρότερον· νῦν ὥστερ ἔκ τινος ζόφου προσβλέπειν δοκοῦμεν λευκὴν ἡμέραν· μετὰ μικρὸν ἀναθήσομεν εἰκόνας, μετὰ μικρὸν ποιηταὶ καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ ῥήτορες ᾄσουσι τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ διαδώσουσιν εἰς γένη πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἀνοιγέσθω θέατρα, πανηγύρεις ἄγωμεν· ὁμολογῶμεν χάριτας καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ κρείττοσι.

orator as representing all the inhabitants of a province—elite and lower classes, men and women, children and the elderly—put even more pressure on a governor to perform well, because the province presented itself in unison. With such elaborate and flattering language, the question remains whether governors in reality were able to fulfill provincials' expectations. Were governors indeed 'brilliant as a ray of the sun,' as Menander encouraged provincials to portray them?[2]

Now that the governor has been presented in his different appearances—as judge, as benefactor, praised and criticized by provincials—this final chapter synthesizes the material of the previous chapters in the broader context of the functioning of the Late Roman Empire at large. Throughout this study three themes recur: the continuous dialogue between governors and provincials and its language; provincial pressure and expectations; and the interdependence and reciprocity of both governors' and their subjects' actions. In the following sections these themes are discussed in the context of their importance for this study.

### *Continuous dialogue*

Without a dialogue there is no relationship. The dialogue between provincial subjects and governors consisted of both verbal and material elements. With the words of a speech of welcome, provincials took the first step towards establishing a rewarding relationship. With the proper welcome, the next step was in the hands of the governor, who had to prove that he was capable of fulfilling the image that provincials had created of him and for him, an image of an official who was just, impartial, incorrupt, accessible, caring; in short, a fair judge, a generous benefactor, and effective protector of his province. If a governor was not only aware of such expectations, but also able to give the appearance of fitting this image, the dialogue remained open. Even so, tension between governors and provincials always persisted, insofar as governors might not be able or willing to give what provincials wanted, while provincials for their part might make unreasonable demands of governors.

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[2] Menander Rhetor, 378.

Communication, therefore, did not invariably mean the exchange of friendly words of praise and joy. Harsh words of criticism and frustration were also part of the discourse, as provincials were sometimes so disappointed and irate at governors' misbehavior that they tried to find a listening ear—in particular that of the emperor—for their complaints and grievances. Initial provincial support might not last, as the case of Eustathius, governor of Syria, illustrated. Libanius, at first writing him a speech of praise, wrote a speech against him after he had become disappointed with his actions.[3] One bad action on the part of a governor could have consequences for the remainder of his term of office or even for the rest of his career.

### *Provincial expectations and pressure*

As soon as a governor arrived in his province, provincials laid out precisely what they expected from him. In a speech of welcome they made it clear that they wanted a governor who was educated, from a good family, who was capable of ruling their province with moderation, justice, courage and wisdom. Even though these expectations might seem to be fairly straightforward and simple, fulfilling them was more complicated. In essence, upper class provincials wanted a governor who would not upset the existing social order and hierarchy during his brief term of office, whereas lower class subjects might want him to assist them with bread supplies or unfair treatment by the upper classes. Among different groups of subjects there was a great variety of demands. What would satisfy one group would frustrate another. A governor would be pulled between some who wanted him to be a fair judge and a generous benefactor to all layers of the provincial population, and others who wanted to manipulate him into corrupt and unjust behavior that inevitably would cause another group to be upset. No governor could please every provincial subject, and even if he tried to be sensitive to all provincials' needs and hopes, he ran into a different reality.

In practice, Machiavellian though it might be, every governor had to determine which groups in a province could do him most harm

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[3] Libanius, *Oratio* 44 (speech of praise) and 54 (speech of criticism). See chapter six on the power of acclamations.

if they were dissatisfied with his behavior and accomplishments or lack thereof. Often the upper classes—who included men of higher status than a governor and with connections to top officials and perhaps even the imperial court—were most capable of having a governor removed from office and his career ruined. Granted, lower class subjects could cause dangerous riots as well, but if the elite of the province maintained their support for the governor in such circumstances, he might be able to control the damage. Ultimately, it was vital for a governor at least to give the appearance of being sensitive to provincial wishes, to give fair judgments in court, and to bestow benefactions upon request.

The role of governor was seldom easy. The provincial elite might be well enough connected to give the impression that they merely tolerated him as governor, otherwise curbing the exercise of his authority. At the same time, provincials had to keep in mind that they could not press a governor too far: to insult a governor was also to insult the emperor who appointed him. To be sure, there were cases in which a governor had gravely misbehaved, and an emperor might then listen to provincial complaints and perhaps even remove him from office; but emperors on the other hand were perhaps more likely to offer some protection to their official. If a crisis escalated, and a governor clearly needed help, the emperor might step in. Thus, in 441, after an unnamed governor in Emesa had been terrorized by a prominent local the emperor Theodosius did intervene.[4] Even though this may have been an extreme case, it underlines the point that not only provincials could turn to the emperor for help, but also governors themselves.

### *Interdependence and reciprocity*

> Provincial magistrates and local aristocrats, including bishops, were therefore always implicitly, and often explicitly, negotiating with each other, whether privately in letters and conversations or publicly at festivals and assemblies. All the participants were just powerful enough to influence each other's decisions, and just insecure enough to need each other's support.[5]

[4] See chapter two, the section *Governors caught in the justice system.*
[5] Van Dam (2002), 92.

This sharp observation by Van Dam encapsulates well the power relations among the elite of a province and the representatives of Roman imperial rule. However difficult the communication between governors and provincials, they were part of the same system and needed each other. Governors knew that without the cooperation of provincials, it would be more challenging to fulfill all their duties. Provincials for their part understood that without governors' goodwill they could equally suffer.

This interdependence of governors and provincials is most evident in the chapter on the governor as benefactor. Not only were governors expected to be benefactors for provincials in their distribution of favors—manifested both in material objects and intangible support—but provincials in turn were also benefactors to governors.

Even though, perhaps, an individual governor was inconsequential in the eyes of provincials, they still dealt with a 'governor' continuously. At the end of a governor's term, he left the province, and in most instances never had to be a governor again, whereas for provincials a new governor was arriving and they had to begin the establishment of a relationship all over again.[6] The pattern repeated itself unrelentingly. This repetitive element in provincial government deserves more recognition, because the same rhythm of the arrival and departure of provincial governors hardly changed for centuries. When the Romans created their first provinces in the third and second centuries B.C., they initiated a succession of governors which continued far into the reign of Justinian in the early sixth century A.D. Even after Diocletian had reformed the organization of the provinces at the end of the third century A.D., the system of governors being sent to provinces for a brief term of office remained a key element in the structure. An understanding of the organization of provinces as the basic units of the Roman imperial administration thus forms a vital perspective on the functioning of the empire at large.

[6] See Van Dam (2002), 81, for acknowledgment that for both parties there was never much time to establish a relationship, before a governor left office again and a new one arrived.

### *'Brilliant as a ray of the sun?'*

In the end, the question whether a governor was, indeed, 'brilliant as a ray of the sun' surely misses the point. In reality no governor was brilliant, nor did he have to be. The key issue, rather, is why provincials wanted to flatter him with this image when they greeted him. The answer lies in the expectation evoked by it for both governors and provincials. Governors knew what provincials expected from them, and the well-known image of the sun was part of a language they both understood.

Both provincials and governors wanted a mutually beneficial relationship. An unsatisfactory term of office might prevent a governor from proceeding into higher offices; it might equally prevent provincials from accomplishing any of their goals, such as justice in court or the construction of public buildings. If both parties remained in harmony, however, there was the potential for both to gain what they wanted. The governor's situation was perhaps the less advantageous of the two, since his prospects could be ruined if his term proved a disaster, whereas a province would recover more easily from one damaging term. To a governor this meant that he had to ensure that he did not make too many enemies, but that he obtained enough friends during his time in the province. Brown acknowledges as much when he writes that, "as in any large administration (and especially in an administration where no office carried with it the security of tenure), survival counted for more than efficiency. It was wiser not to leave a province, after a short term of office, having incurred lasting enmities through undue zeal and severity."[7]

Ultimately, one key was the tool of persuasion used by both provincials and governors to obtain favors from each other. To quote Brown again: "the effective governor was the one who maintained the reputation of being open to persuasion, because capable of persuasion."[8] The truth is that governors and provincials were mutually dependent partners.

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[7] Brown (1992), 24.
[8] Brown (1992), 33.

APPENDIX

# CONCORDANCE OF THE LETTERS OF LIBANIUS

B = Bradbury[1]
N = Norman
W = not in any translated collection

| Libanius | B/N/W: | Libanius | B/N/W: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | N 34 | 696 | N 81 |
| 61 | B 39 | 715 | B 126 |
| 142 | B 123 | 732 | B 101 |
| 143 | N 60 | 742 | W |
| 150 | N 62 | 763 | B 130 |
| 156 | B 88 | 772 | W |
| 158 | B 89 | 779 | B 107 |
| 159 | B 90 | 819 | N 103 |
| 163 | N 63 | 838 | B 94 |
| 175 | B 92 | 861 | W |
| 275 | N 73 | 862 | W |
| 298 | B 99 | 871 | W |
| 308 | N 75 | 901 | N 153 |
| 333 | B 6 | 959 | N 169 |
| 339 | B 62 | 990 | N 173 |
| 371 | W | 1113 | B 47 |
| 379 | N 32 | 1170 | B 139 |
| 406 | W | 1224 | B 168 |
| 434 | N 12 | 1230 | B 112 |
| 438 | B 55 | 1350 | B 109 |
| 458 | B 113 | 1354 | B 110 |
| 459 | B 114 | 1381 | B 111 |
| 562 | B 174 | 1392 | B 97 |
| 625 | B 124 | 1424 | N 111 |
| 629 | B 125 | 1460 | B 93 |
| 636 | N 77 | 1474 | W |
| 651 | B 100 | 1476 | W |

[1] My sincere thanks to Bradbury for showing me his concordance and translations of Libanius' *epistulae* before publication of his work.

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# GENERAL INDEX

Notes to the reader: although there is a separate index of persons, in this general index several men are included who play an important role throughout the book, such as Basil of Caesarea or Libanius. As a consequence, these men have an entry both in the general index and in the index of persons. In regard to the provinces, literary sources often do not use the official term for a province, for instance Cappadocia I and Cappadocia II, or Phrygia Pacatiana and Phrygia Salutaris. Instead, these provinces are simply called Cappadocia or Phrygia. The official names, however, have been used on the map in the book. To overcome this inconsistency, in the index the provinces appear in most cases with the official name that they have on the map, but in several instances they will also have an entry with their general name, because of the references in the literary sources.


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# INDEX OF PERSONS

Notes to the reader: the index of persons contains two lists; a general list of people and a list of the governors who appear in this book. Especially in the case of governors and other officials, who have identical names, such as Maximus, in the index I have also given the numbers that accompany their *PLRE* I or II entries (between brackets). In regards to the order of names, I have chosen to list the governors and other officials according to the alphabetical order as used in *PLRE* I or II. For instance, Aelius Claudius Dulcitius appears in the index as *Dulcitius, Aelius Claudius* or Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxius appears as *Quintilius, Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxius* with a repetition of Quintilius.


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